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ABSTRACT

This collection of articles addresses major questions of community college governance and highlights some of the changes that have taken place in governance over the past decade. The issue contains: (1) "State Power in a New Era: Threats to Local Authority," by Dale Tillery and James L. Wattenbarger; (2) "Power on the Periphery: Faculty and Student Roles in Governance," by Richard L. Alfred; (3) "Governance and the Shifting Role of the Board of Trustees," by Edmund J. Gleazer, Jr.; (4) "Collective Bargaining: The Conflict Model as Norm?" by Richard J. Ernst; (5) "Governing the Multiunit District: A Decade of Change," by Benjamin R. Wygal; (6) "Toward a New Paradigm: Governance in a Broader Framework," by William L. Deegan; (7) "Developing and Maintaining Governance," by James F. Gollattscheck; and (8) "Sources and Information: Community College Governance," a bibliographic review of ERIC literature by Jim Palmer. (HB)

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NEW DIRECTIONS FOR COMMUNITY COLLEGES

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Ensuring Effective Governance

William L. Deegan, James F. Gollattscheck,
Editors

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ARTHUR M. COHEN, *Editor-in-Chief*
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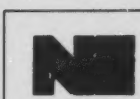

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Editors' Notes

The last volume on governance in this series was published in 1975. When that volume was published, the climate was one of great turbulence. Most of the topics concerned issues internal to the campus: participation in governance, roles, and models for governance. Collective bargaining, the role of the state, and accountablity were issues that were emerging at that time.

A decade after the publication of that volume, the issues of participation, roles, and models remain concerns in governance, but new forces also have emerged. Clearly, the most influential force has been the increased power and role of state agencies in governance, a development that has forced a dramatic change in the way we think about governance. The old focus on largely internal issues has been replaced by the need to consider issues in a broader context. The past decade has also brought new pressures on trustees; development of multiunit districts; and a maturing of collective bargaining processes. In view of these developments and the increased importance of governance processes and decisions, the objectives of this volume are to examine key governance issues that have emerged and to propose concepts and ways of confronting key governance issues in the decade ahead.

In Chapter One, Dale Tillery and James Wattenbarger examine the emergence of the power and role of the state. This chapter, the longest in the volume, reflects the importance of this topic. Tillery and Wattenbarger first review governance issues generally and then consider the specific issues reflected in two pacesetter states—California and Florida. They conclude their chapter with an analysis of implications for the future.

In Chapter Two, Richard L. Alfred examines faculty and student roles in governance and their impact on the character and success of the institution. He argues that the tension between actual and potential power in the governance roles of faculty and students presents a dilemma for community college administrators. Alfred then discusses faculty and student roles as they have emerged and the potential of different governance models to enhance those roles.

Edmund J. Gleazer, Jr., in Chapter Three, says that the governing body of a community college is a key element in the governance

of the college. The trustees not only have final responsibility for making decisions for the college, they also have considerable influence over the types of governance structures the college will be encouraged or allowed to develop. Gleazer explores the roles of community college trustees and how and why these roles have changed in the past decade. He examines the external pressures that affect the behavior of boards of trustees and, therefore, the crucial relationship between boards and chief executive officers.

In Chapter Four, Richard J. Ernst asserts that nowhere in higher education has the impact of unionization been felt more strongly than in community colleges. These institutions have led the way, and in two-year colleges can be found the very best and the very worst examples of governance through collective bargaining. Ernst traces the growth of collective bargaining and its effects on community college governance. He concludes with recommendations for improving governance systems that involve collective bargaining.

The decade since 1975 has also seen a continued increase in the number of large, multiunit community colleges. These institutions, because of their size and complexity, present unique governance problems. In Chapter Five, Benjamin R. Wygal looks at changes in the governance of multiunit institutions. He reviews the implications of the changing environment in which multiunit community colleges operate and suggests approaches such colleges might take in the future to improve governance.

William L. Deegan argues in Chapter Six that the issues and trends of the past decade make it necessary to reconsider and perhaps reconceptualize governance processes and the way we generate substantive issues. Deegan reviews major models for governance from the past and proposes a new governance paradigm, which he believes will provide a broader and more integrated framework for analyzing governance issues.

James F. Gollattscheck calls in Chapter Seven for more effective management of the governance process. Gollattscheck believes that developing and maintaining good systems of governance in community colleges ought to be a top priority. Unfortunately, decision-making processes are frequently allowed to develop and accumulate haphazardly with little thought to maintenance or evaluation. Gollattscheck reviews models of governance systems and gives suggestions for developing and maintaining effective governance. He includes a checklist of questions to be asked to those responsible for governance systems in community colleges.

Jim Palmer concludes this volume with a list of sources and abstracted information on community college governance.

We hope that this sourcebook will provide both a needed update on recent developments in governance and proposals for changes to facilitate the governance process in the decade ahead.

William L. Deegan
James F. Gollattscheck
Editors

William L. Deegan is associate profesor of higher education and adult education and director of the Center for Community Colleges at Teachers College, Columbia University.

James F. Gollattscheck is vice-president for communications services of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, Washington, D.C. He was formerly president of Valencia Community College in Orlando, Florida.

The growth of state power and authority has had a profound impact on governance. Developments in governance in the past decade in two bellwether states are examined, and implications of the growth in state power are discussed.

State Power in a New Era: Threats to Local Authority

Dale Tillery
James L. Wattenbarger

Education, as developed in the United States, has always been a responsibility of the states. The traditional and effective authority for coordinating and operating the schools, colleges, and universities is a state governmental responsibility that normally is delegated to a local school board, in the instance of the public schools, and to a local board of trustees, in the instance of community colleges. State colleges and universities usually have various types of state governing structures that involve statewide representations. State level coordinating boards have been used increasingly in almost all states. In all instances, however, there is no question that the state has legal responsibility and authority for operating educational institutions.

The recent increase in the use of state authority over the daily operation of community colleges, however, has come as a rude shock to many community college leaders, a shock that more often than not has been completely unexpected. Historians, in re-examining the twentieth-century development of community colleges, may be able to understand

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why locally controlled education, as represented by the junior colleges, yielded during the years since World War II to state-controlled education. Historians can point out the incremental trends in all of educational governance toward more state financial support, as well as the resulting increase in accountability measures required by the state. Historians also can demonstrate that the trend toward more state control has been present in the entire educational structure: larger districts; increased state regulation; evidence of federal concerns, which forced states to monitor and supervise as well as distribute funds; and increased awareness of concerns for equity, efficiency, and accountability. All these factors have contributed to the creation of state agencies focused on the control of education.

The incremental nature of each instance of increased state authority has not caused outrage or, often, even strong objection. There were murmurs of protest at first, but these events were smoothed over, reluctance was rationalized, and the concept of overall good was accepted as a guiding principle. Besides, where else could the funds be obtained?

Basic to all other rationales, state support has been used as the basis for more state domination. The major source of funds for the state has been sales taxes, which are much easier to increase than property taxes, the major local source. As a result, most states have placed limitations on local property taxes in exchange for increased state sales taxes, and the major source of funding for education has become the state source. In the vain hope that 50 percent was somehow a "Rubicon" in reference to state control, a few states have attempted to keep the state's part of the total support at a portion less than 50 percent. Even this conviction has not worked out very well, however, and almost all states have moved into the position of providing the largest portion of support for this level of education from the state sources.

There have been other concerns, too. The need to provide equal opportunity to all citizens in a state has placed a responsibility for strategic planning and coordination at the state level. This type of responsibility cannot be carried out at the local level. No single community college district can assume such an overall planning activity. No one should receive inferior opportunities for education as a result of being born in or living in the "wrong" county. The obligation of state-level planning is to make certain that all districts in the state move into a position relating to postsecondary education that will provide at least a basic level of continued educational opportunity.

Another part of this concept of equity is the fact that the state normally makes the freshman and sophomore programs at the four-year colleges and universities available to some but not all citizens. The

states have provided these opportunities almost without exception. In order to alleviate the geographical inequity caused by the regional nature of locating these institutions, the argument has been presented that the state should also provide some support to other institutions, specifically the junior or community colleges that are made available to other citizens. When one recognizes this contribution, one must then be willing to provide support for the alternative, in order to keep local tax burdens down and student fees at least at a level comparable to other higher education in the state. This support causes concern for a standard of quality, forcing the state agency to accept responsibility to check on, review, and monitor quality as a part of its regular activities. The state thereby enters the field of quality control as well as that of financial support.

In addition to equity and quality control, the state is legitimately concerned with priorities that have statewide implications. No state has reported unlimited resources, and choices among allocations of resources must be made by someone. Through the various branches of state government, the identification of needs, the reaching of consensus, and the implementation of state policy must be carried out in a consistent and productive manner. The alternative is counterproductive and, without disagreement, unacceptable state interests are generally received as being legitimate and pervasive, and state support should be expected to follow state priorities.

These types of support also give the state an interest in using funds efficiently, as well as a concern for duplication of programs. The allocation of resources within an institution in ineffective programs is more than poor institutional policy; it becomes poor state policy as well. As a result, the state begins to review budgets and react to institutional decisions relating to resource allocation. The possibilities of state control are rationally and effectively established.

In many states, all buildings and other facilities are owned by the state, regardless of the source of funds used in construction and maintenance. The legislature itself may take an active role in making decisions on allocation of funds for construction. State decision making is once again the dominant mode.

The state legislatures have impinged on local institutional autonomy in a number of other ways. By establishing caps on enrollment, legislatures have affected institutional policy, curriculum, and development. By passing laws that establish testing requirements, curriculum content, admission requirements, and course limitations, legislatures have imposed specific controls over colleges. Laws limiting expenditures on travel, funds available for faculty salaries, or resources that

may be used for particular purposes have not been uncommon. State power is thus enhanced through specific legislative action. These controls are often supported and increased through the state auditing function. The auditor has often commented on the appropriateness of the expenditures, as well as on the legality of the disbursements. This new viewpoint, resulting in evaluative comments in the auditor's report, places an undefined but very effective power in another state-level agency.

The trend has been incremental and consistent: more limitations placed upon local decision making; more official, state-agency responsibilities for budget review, program review, and program offerings assigned; more legislative actions relating to specifics internal to the institutions; more transfer of final decision making to the state level; more power assumed by the state.

Illustrations and examples of these directions may be found in every state. Two states have been selected for attention in this discussion: California, which is the oldest and in many ways the most highly developed system, and Florida, which has been the most comprehensively planned system and often the recognized leader in recent community college development. These two represent in enrollment more than 26 percent of the total for 1982–1983 for all fifty states. What affects them directly influences the educational programs for at least one fourth of the total community college students in the nation.

California: The Oldest System

California not only has the oldest and largest system of public two-year colleges but is also the national model for primacy of local authority in system governance. Today, as the state's seventy community college districts face new challenges to local control, there is still widespread reluctance to refer to them as a state system. This semantic delicacy reflects passion for local control among the colleges, as well as respect by state legislators for the historic achievements of decentralized authority in the governance of the public two-year colleges (Tillery and Deegan, in press). The colleges nevertheless do constitute a state system, which is a major segment of postsecondary education. No issue is of greater consequence to the future of community colleges in California than resolution of the enigma of their governance.

Governance changes in education are influenced by social, economic, and political factors. Thus, a brief review of historic events in the eighty years of public two-year college development in California is essential for understanding current governance conflicts, options for

their resolution, and likely outcomes as community colleges enter a new period. Both the California Postsecondary Education Commission (Callan, 1983) and Tillery (1983) have adopted a common schema for discussing the evolution of the community college.

Four periods of development are used here for analysis: extension of high school (1900–1930), junior college (1930–1950), community colleges (1950–1970), and comprehensive community colleges (1970 to the present). Over time, the state's pubic two-year colleges have moved from being a loose confederation of local institutions toward constituting a state system that seeks to preserve the values of local authority while providing a mechanism of state coordination that enhances community college and state interests alike. Recent efforts have been less than successful, resulting in a crisis of governance. The seriousness of this crisis has led to major current efforts to resolve the dilemma and to delineate responsibilities among state agencies, local governing boards, and professional bodies.

Period 1: Extension of High School (1900–1930). The California public two-year college was an offshoot of the universities and the public schools, but in matters of governance it bore little resemblance to the latter. There is little evidence that university presidents, who were influential in creating the junior college, thought much about how state systems of colleges should be governed, yet it was apparent that their efforts to bifurcate the research university (by creating the junior college as an intermediate institution) would extend the high school to include the first two years of college. Implications for governance of the early colleges were profound and are apparent in the first California state legislation to authorize local high schools to offer college courses, the Caminetti Act.

The early extensions of high school, beginning with the two-year college program as authorized in 1910 by the Fresno Board of Education, used existing school facilities, counted attendance for school district apportionment purposes, and, like the schools, fell under the supervision of the State Department of Education. Important groundwork was laid, however, for later modifications of system governance.

Most important were efforts to resolve the uncertainty about how the new institutions were to be financed. After the state attorney general ruled in 1915 that junior college attendance could no longer be counted for school apportionment purposes, the legislature authorized apportionments for junior college programs and required college approval of such programs by the State Department of Education (Callan, 1983). This legislation came in 1917, when sixteen school districts in California offered college-level courses. Under taxing authority from

the state legislature, local school boards had control of nearly 80 percent of the funds for operating schools as well as extension colleges. To assist in junior college development, in 1920 the legislature set up the Junior College Fund from state revenues received from mining fossil fuels on the public domain. When these federal revenues became inadequate, there was legislation in 1929 to provide state funds to help educate a student population that had reached 25,000 by then.

Equally important to this early period was the work of a special committee appointed by the legislature in 1919. The committee recommended ". . . that junior colleges should provide civic, liberal arts, scientific, and technical courses of instruction" (Callan, 1983, p. 2). From the perspective of governance, this was an early expression of state interests in the mission of the public two-year colleges. The matrix of system governance became more complex, however, as the legislature authorized the formation in the 1920s of separate junior college districts, the continuation of high school extension colleges (1921), and then the formation of joint high school–junior college districts (1927). Thus, Period 1 ended with over thirty junior colleges in California, most of which were still part of high school districts. Local control was well entrenched, with benign supervision from the state and generally decentralized funding.

Period 2: Junior Colleges (1930–1950). The mission and the number of colleges expanded in the early 1930s. The colleges were viewed as appropriate places for the education and training of mature adults as well as of recent high school graduates. Although there was a reduction in the level of state support during the Depression, the number of junior colleges and enrollments continued to grow. By 1936 there were forty-two public junior colleges in California and over 52,000 students. The vitality of local initiative is even more apparent when one notes that by 1942 enrollments had doubled, even though no new colleges were built between 1936 and 1942. The total junior colleges budget in 1947 was close to $16 million. "Of this amount, 25 percent was from state funding, 30 percent from the federal government, and 47 percent from local tax sources" (Callan, 1983, p. 3).

The Strayer Report, commissioned by the legislature in 1947, encouraged junior college growth and expansion of the mission by accepting the goals and objectives for the junior colleges as set forth by the California Junior College Association. It seems reasonable to conclude that the junior colleges and their own associations had primacy in shaping their mission.

Period 2 closed with a state funding arrangement that, with periodic increases for inflation, lasted until the early years of Period 4

(1970 on). The legislature provided a guaranteed state-funded base, established computational tax rates as guidelines for local governing boards, and provided state equalization.

Period 3: Community Colleges (1950–1970). This was a period of great change in the governance of California junior colleges. The rising costs of public postsecondary education led to a major restudy of the needs and costs of higher education in the state. Among the consequences for community colleges was the further expansion of their mission (occupational education and community services) and the establishment of the Bureau of Junior College Education. This was an augmentation of the recently formed Subcommittee for Junior College of the State Board of Education, which had made progress in understanding the special needs of the two-year colleges.

The movement toward higher education was enhanced by the Donahoe Higher Education Act (1960), which implemented a master plan for higher education in California (Callan, 1983, p. 4). Separate junior college districts were now the dominant pattern, but almost as many of the sixty-five colleges were part of high school districts or of joint districts. The master plan was a turning point for what were now designated as community colleges. They were viewed as part of a tripartite system of public higher education in the state. Thus, it is not surprising that the legislature mandated in 1961 that all newly formed junior college districts would be organized separately. By 1964, fifty-six of sixty-six community college districts had their own governing boards.

The Stiern Act of 1967 created the Board of Governors. This resulted in separation of the statewide administrative functions from the State Department of Education. A chancellor's office, responsible to the Board of Governors, was created to fill certain of the department's functions. It is noteworthy that this reorganization led to a largely successful effort to return certain state responsibilities to the local districts. Period 3 ended with a new identity of the public two-year colleges as a major segment of higher education. As community colleges, they also had a clear challenge to serve the broad educational needs of their communities. The establishment, in the beginning, of a weak chancellor and the Board of Governors did not answer the question of who speaks for the community colleges. Relationships between the state agency and the growing number of community college districts remained ambiguous.

Period 4: Comprehensive Community Colleges (1970 to the Present). "By most commonly accepted criteria, publicly supported community colleges are one of the greatest success stories of the last two decades" (Breneman and Nelson, 1981, p. 1). The development in

California was particularly dramatic: The number of colleges grew to 106, and total enrollment exceeded 1.3 million. But size was not all. The comprehensive community colleges led the efforts to promote wide access to postsecondary education. Not only did they initiate new affirmative actions programs, improve counseling and support services, and establish outreach centers, they also got the legislature, in 1973, to pass a new financing mechanism that increased state subsidies, in an attempt to provide local tax relief and program improvement. As never before, financing was enrollment-driven.

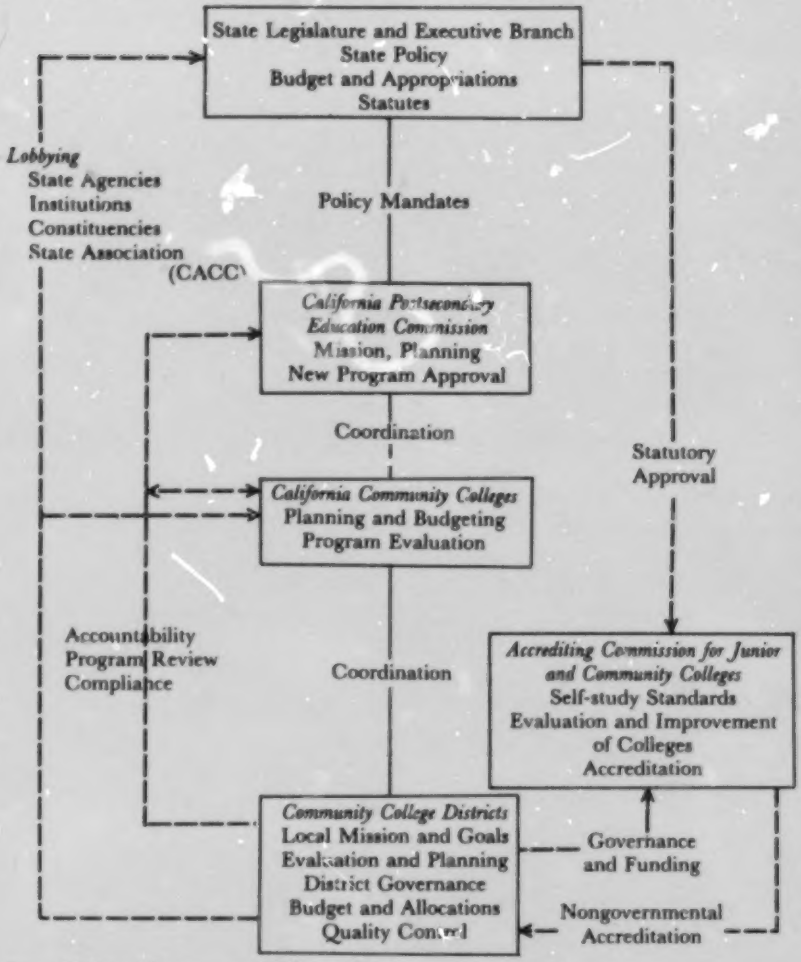
Proposition 13 (1978) has had profound effects on financing, mission, and governance of community colleges. Enrollments dropped, fees were increased in many colleges, and local governing boards lost their taxing authority. As the state reduced the scope of the instruction that it was willing to fund, 1982 enrollments dropped to 1975 levels. Even under these blows, local authority was exerted in many districts to maintain no-credit and community service programs by the use of reserves and permissive fees. Other major consequences were disarray in system governance, new competition among the segments of higher education for funds and students, and widespread debate about the mission of the California community colleges. These and related issues are of such consequence that state agencies, the segments of public higher education, local institutions, and organized constituency groups have faced the challenge of public accountability. Equally important is the imperative of resolving dysfunctional conflicts in governance. Thus, Period 4 opened with great expansion in size, scope, and support of the California comprehensive community colleges. By 1977, they were deep in the new depression in higher education, which in California was greatly exacerbated by Proposition 13. The period extends to the present, with hesitant decisions about modest tuition in the community colleges, some restoration of cuts in state funding, and substantial efforts to resolve governance conflicts among the Board of Governors of the California community colleges, the seventy local governing boards, and the California Postsecondary Education Commission.

The structure and context of California community college governance is so complex that it seems helpful to identify the governance network before discussing the primary options for community college governance and projection of likely outcomes in the near future (see Figure 1).

Options and Likely Outcomes in Governance. As can be inferred from the constitution of the United States, authority in matters of public education is vested in the states. The California legislature, like those of other states, has traditionally granted wide discretionary powers to

local governing boards and to state agencies, with varying degrees of authority for coordination and accountability. Because legislatures have residual authority in governance, the locus of control shifts to state capitals in times of fiscal stringency and conflicts about institutional mission. Both of these conditions are affecting the governance of community colleges in California. Nevertheless, a recent study (Tillery,

Figure 1. Governance of California Community Colleges: Structures and Context



Source: McIntyre, Swenson, and Tillery, 1982.

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1982) of legislators and other principal agents in community college governance reveals general support for the continuity of a large measure of local control. What is new are demands for accountability in the use of scarce state resources, as well as attention to state interests in the mission of community colleges.

Under new leadership, the Board of Governors, perhaps for the first time, is providing leadership in clarifying the mission of the system and in arriving at delineation of responsibilities between the board and local boards of trustees in the essentials of public accountability, evaluation, and strategic planning. The Accrediting Commission for Junior and Community Colleges is gaining new stature in helping to facilitate this process and improve the quality of nongovernmental accreditation. In a larger arena, the California Postsecondary Education Commission plays an influential role. Its recent activities in community college affairs have been viewed as ambiguous by many community college leaders, but it has the potential and the leadership to bring support to the impressive reforms that are under way in the colleges and to resolve the articulation dilemmas among the three segments of public higher education.

Perhaps too much has been made of the belief that power follows the dollar, particularly in light of social policies that seek to decentralize government. Nevertheless, the future economic positions of the state and the nation are gravely uncertain. Thus, it is very unlikely that the legislature will establish stable funding for any segment of education in the foreseeable future. We note the continuation of the partisan political conflict that developed when the legislature attempted to patch up damage from recent retrenchment in the funding of education. This is most true in matters of community college finance. Neither tuition in the colleges nor conflict over tuition are likely to disappear soon. Finally, "... retrenchment is likely to have a lasting impact beyond the current fiscal stringency that has given rise to it" (Bowen and Glenny, 1976, p. 16). Such fiscal uncertainties will demand great maturity by the profession and by state agencies if the current rapprochement in governance is to be maintained and enhanced.

Lobbying by organized constituency groups is a major factor in the governance of California's community colleges. Figure 1 reveals the targets of lobbying—the major centers of power in the state—but it does not convey the possibility that they form a shadow governance network. At present, they too are under capable leadership and are making efforts to resolve differences that have confused legislators and the public alike. Through the revitalized California Association of Community Colleges, there are new efforts to provide a professional

arena for working together. Like others that have emerged from adversity, these reforms are fragile. Similar manifestations of rational self-interest are apparent in other states, as professionals seek ". . . a general consensus which helps keep decisions within higher education and out of the political arena" (Bowen and Glenny, 1976, p. 28). There is no assurance, however, that some constituency groups will not decide that they prefer the political arena.

Governance of California community colleges is complex, decentralized, and largely dependent on leadership and consensus building. The decades of reasonably stable funding and benign neglect from state agencies did not prepare the colleges or the state for the recent disruptions from sustained fiscal stringency and loss of confidence in social institutions. These experiences have been sobering. They seem to be leading to some resolution of the dilemma of community college governance, which has been neglected or patched up since California established the first public two-year college system early in this century.

Florida: A Bellwether State

Florida has been described by Naisbitt (1982) as a bellwether state. A rapidly growing state, Florida has moved from being the smallest Southern state (in terms of population) in 1940 to the seventh largest state in the nation in the 1980s. More important, however, Florida's population is demographically similar to what may be expected to become the nation's population within the foreseeable future. For example, over 17 percent of the 1980 population is over sixty-five. The effect of this and other socioeconomic characteristics is that future population trends for the nation may be predicted on the basis of Florida.

If this is indeed correct, then Florida may represent the direction in state-local relationships that can be expected for community colleges in other states. This state has demonstrated the value and importance of state planning for this level of education. Moving rapidly from a collection of four local junior college districts in 1957, with enrollments totalling less than 4000 students, to a system of twenty-eight community colleges, with an expected full-time enrollment in the fall of 1984 of more than 200,000 or a total enrollment during the 1984–1985 year in excess of 700,000, Florida's community colleges demonstrate the value of a master plan and of state-level as well as institutional professional leadership in implementing it.

As in California, there have been four periods of development in Florida: establishing a foothold (1927–1947), becoming a part of the

education system (1948–1957), evolving into a community college system (1958–1968), and institutional pre-eminence (1969–1983).

Period 1: Establishing a Foothold (1927–1947). During Period 1, only two institutions were established: St. Petersburg Junior College in 1927 as a private (actually quasi-public) junior college, and Palm Beach Junior College in 1933 as a part of School District 1 of Palm Beach County. These colleges were both supported by the local superintendents of the public schools as well as by local civic leaders. Both were totally supported by local private contributions, local tax funds, and student fees. Like most junior colleges nationwide, both were started in facilities provided by the school system high schools. Both emphasized arts and sciences programs leading to transfer to four-year colleges. No legal authorization for their existence other than the private chartering law used by St. Petersburg Junior College was even passed by the legislature until 1939.

Period 2: Becoming a Part of the Educational System (1948–1957). Period 2 started with a new state school law that reorganized the whole of public education, including the universities. Junior colleges were authorized in counties (or in combinations of counties) reporting 50,000 persons or more. Permission of the State Board of Education was required for establishment, and operational control was placed under the school board of the county of location. State funds were provided on a basis similar to that providing funds to grades one through twelve. Local funds came from countywide tax sources; student fees were authorized. Very little state attention was paid to these junior colleges after their approvals to operate had been given. St. Petersburg Junior College officially became a public college, Pensacola Junior College and Washington Junior College were established in Escambia County to serve black students, and Chipola Junior College was changed from a one-year, church-related institution to a two-year public junior college. These four districts (five colleges) were locally controlled, with very little supervision from the state level and a combination of state and local funds for a generally inadequate level of support. The colleges often felt like poor relatives of the public school system and were in dire need of capital outlay funds and adequate operating support.

With the end of World War II, the universities had recognized that a great demand for college opportunity was just around the corner. Thus, the Council for the Study of Higher Education was established by the legislature, and in 1955 the Community College Council was authorized. The latter had a legislative mandate to develop a long-range plan for community colleges in Florida, which were to provide the three areas of offerings that were traditional to community and junior colleges.

Period 3: Evolving into a Community College System (1958–1968). A Community College Council report ushered in the third period of development in 1957, when a plan for establishing twenty-eight colleges was presented to the legislature, along with a request to authorize six new districts for immediate establishment. The State Advisory Board for Community Colleges was established to continue the planning and coordination work of the Community College Council. The six new college districts, along with the four existing college districts, constituted a system that was well on its way to establishment.

At that time, these colleges were operated under county boards of public instruction, each as a part of the school system where it was situated. Since these systems had black high schools and elementary schools, more often than not they also established black community colleges. During the next few years, more college districts were authorized at each biennial legislative session, and the black colleges were closed and all operations were transferred to a single college in each district. There was active professional leadership provided at the state level, and most people thought of the community colleges as a system, not as individual institutions per se. The State Junior College Board took an active role in supervising general development, approving the appointment of presidents, and making recommendations to the legislature for new colleges.

Period 4: Institutional Pre-eminence (1969–1983). The end of Period 3 came in 1968, when the twenty-eighth college was approved, a new constitution for Florida was approved, and the local community college districts were statutorily separated from the county school systems.

The new constitution reorganized education in Florida by establishing four divisions under the State Board of Education. One of these was the Division of Community Colleges. In the process of creating this division, the legislature abolished the State Junior College Board and in its place created the State Advisory Board for Community Colleges. This change shifted state coordination from a weak board to a strong legislature. During the next few years the statutes were changed in ways that shifted this emphasis even more. Some examples are a law that removed the requirement of state approval on the appointment of presidents; appropriations that placed caps on the financial allotments to individual colleges; the active designation in statutes by the legislature of capital outlay projects; and similar actions that affected individual institutions. At the same time, the local district boards of trustees took a much more active role in attempting to influence the legislature directly. There was a practice of sending lobbyists to the annual sessions of the legislature. The activities of the system through a division and a

state board were short-circuited and even bypassed through increased negotiation between the individual institutions and the legislature. The community college system had become a loose federation of institutions whose operations were similar in some ways to those of the state university system.

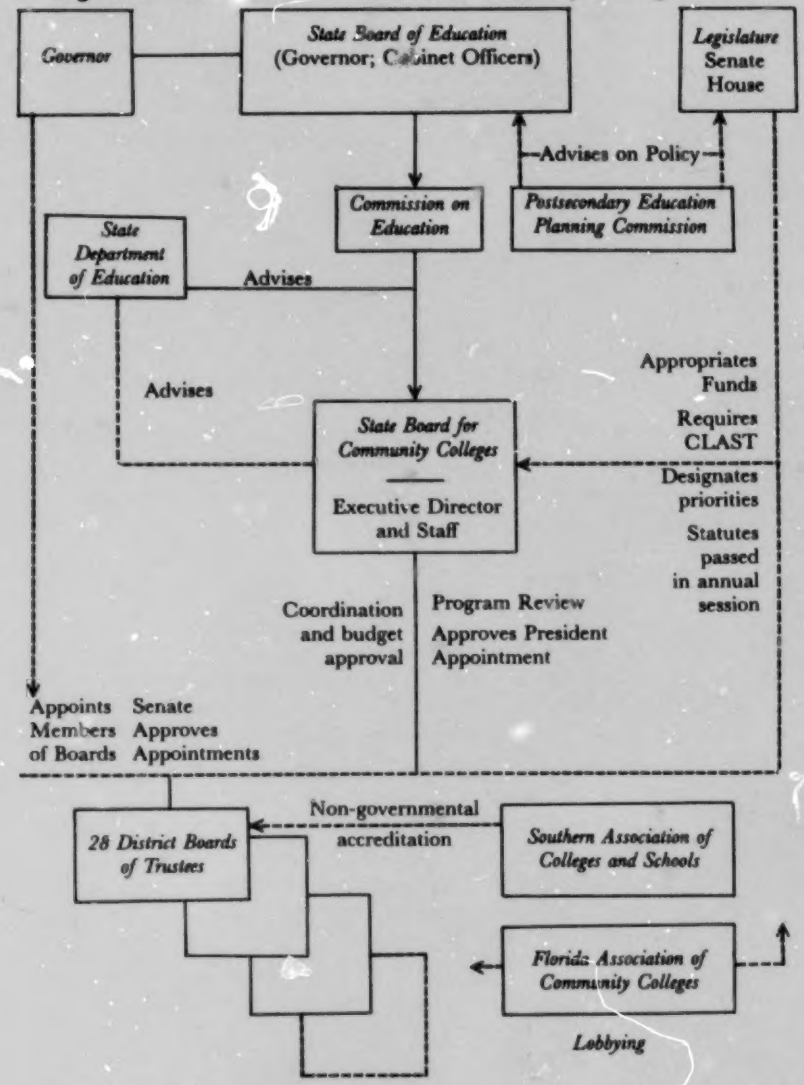
This new and different status was a mixed blessing. The benefits of the system continued in some ways (articulation and general education agreements were in place). Financial support was shifted to the state entirely, with the community colleges still regarded as local institutions. The division staff provided coordination, with little or no interference except a few required reports. Nevertheless, this state-level arena for total financial support placed the community colleges in a direct competitive spot, with the university system on one side and a powerful public school system on the other. Needless to say, the community colleges did not always fare too well in the final slicing of the pie, and their relative position deteriorated with each legislative session.

The legislature itself undertook a series of activities aimed at reorganizing higher education. The threat of a "super board" was constant and was opposed by the universities and the community colleges alike. Although no sweeping changes were made, there were some minor changes that affected the universities' governance structure by increasing the power of the institutional president and the community colleges, since categorical appropriations for specific activities were designated. The 1983 session of the legislature established the State Board for Community Colleges and provided that this new board would select its own director and would have legal responsibility for budget approval, program review, and approval of the appointment and dismissal of presidents. At the same time, appropriations for financial support were placed under new procedures not directly related to full-time enrollment figures and having a number of categorical designations. In other words, financial support has become more susceptible to negotiation and subjected to the opinions and whims of individual lawmakers who hold influential positions in the legislature, and less determined by such traditional indicators as full-time enrollment, course and program costs, and services provided. Under these circumstances, there is little doubt about where the power is.

The Postsecondary Education Planning Council has become increasingly active within the past few years in Florida. This new agency grew from the 1202 Commission in Florida, and as an alternative (in the minds of some) to a "super board." It was established by an executive order of the governor and subsequently ratified by statute. The

legislature has been very sensitive to the recommendation of this council and has put many of its conslusions into effect. It has also assigned special jobs to the council (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Governance of Florida Community Colleges, 1984



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The Current Directions. Florida has followed eclectic policies, moving from a trend toward strong and active state leadership, with limited institutional operational control, to strong institutional control, with less active state leadership, and then back to strong state control, this time in the state legislature. Nevertheless, the trend has always been toward a shifting of power to the state level. State financing has provided both college and legislature an excuse to negotiate directly with each other and has enabled the strong to become stronger. Recent concerns for accountability and quality have allowed the legislature to impose specific curriculum requirements on community colleges and universities alike. Common calendars, course numbers, testing, and similar fee structure have all been required by the legislature over a very few years. The new state board, with its new executive director, has not yet established the extent of its active authority; but the potential extent is great.

This move to increased state authority—and, specifically, the move to increased state authority through the legislature—gained speed and strength during the period of increased institutional authority and activity. The increased activity of the individual institutions resulted in the loss of a state-level spokesman who was accepted by the legislature, as well as in increased communication between colleges and lawmakers. This direction may have been inevitable, but the individual college activity increased the speed with which it happened.

Summary

This history of the development of junior and community colleges in the fifty states can be summarized in an analysis of the two states described in this discussion. Each one is very similar to others in its own region. California represents the West in general, while Florida demonstrates what is similar in the East Coast states. Together they may indicate coming nationwide trends. While each of these states has a somewhat different history of community college development, they share many common past, present, and future elements.

Both states (although California was first by twenty years) first established junior colleges in local high schools, extending those high schools to provide additional educational opportunity to local citizens. These junior colleges were of little concern to the state, just as higher education in general was also of little concern to the state at that time. Even the legal authorization by state statute was an after-the-fact event; passing a law legalized an institution that was already in operation. In both states, the demand for community colleges increased after

World War II. Since Florida had very few colleges at that time, Florida's response to this demand was to develop a statewide plan. Florida was one of the first states to take this total approach. California, in contrast, had more than seventy-five colleges by this time and did not acquire a system until the 1970s. In both cases, however, the eventual result was acceptance by the state of a planning and supervisory role in the organization and operation of these colleges.

The trend is clear; it is in one direction. By examining one of these two states, we can predict with great accuracy the direction that the other will take. Local authority is increasingly represented by the legislature itself, although state-level agencies are also heavily involved. California and Florida also represent a predictable projection of the other forty-eight states. These statements are made without value judgment, but there are some implications that can be derived, and these do include some value judgments.

Implications. The way an institution is governed will determine who gets admitted and how. Increased influence over and control of community colleges by state-level influences has resulted in more questions about the validity of the open door. The clamor over admission requirements seldom comes from any of the local governing structures, but state officials—particularly the legislators—have constantly raised questions about the mission.

The increased influence of the state over institutional decisions has resulted in a number of conflicts between state representatives and local administrators. Unfortunately, this conflict results from inadequate delineation of authority and wastes a great deal of energy. It would also appear that the state wins all the arguments.

The state repeatedly has increased its influence and its power when institutions make poor decisions or demonstrate inadequate accountability. When local boards and local presidents are confused about their respective roles, the state steps in and seldom if ever backs out again.

Accreditation and quality control traditionally have been nongovernmental functions. Regional associations and national organizations alike have been controlled by professional leadership, in contrast to political leadership. Professional leadership within the states has not provided adequate program review procedures, nor has it provided accountability that has always been acceptable to the public. There is now great conflict and concern at all levels. In the future, some of the power will be centered around the quality-control function.

As they increase, legislative controls often cause institutional mediocrity because of the tendency to approach all problems with

universal solutions. Many members of the legislatures depend on staff recommendations. Staff personnel are often very bright, but are also young and inexperienced persons who seek simplistic solutions to very complex problems. The passing of a law to correct a single institution's problem is common, and the effects of the law on other institutions are seldom analyzed until it is too late.

Some institutions have demonstrated good examples of planning, and these are a matter of record. There are very few demonstrated examples of good state planning, however. Therefore, it is a moot question as to whether the increase in state power will result in better planning. Ideally, it would seem that the state should establish priorities, leaving the local colleges to demonstrate institutional adaptability to the state plan.

The overall danger in the trends discussed here is greatest in terms of the basic value system of the community colleges. These institutions have been built on the recognition of diversity as a positive value. The open-door policy, the recognition that each institution has a responsibility to serve its own community, the variety of structures in the fifty states, the differing emphases on curricula in each college, adaptations to local conditions—all these factors, as well as many others, do not lend themselves to bureaucratic decisions and centralized operation. If the current trend, as identified in this discussion, continues in the same direction, there will have to be changes in what has become the usual direction of state power development, or else there will be basic changes in the community colleges themselves. Mediocrity is the danger, and fewer educational services to the citizens of this country will be the result.

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Dale Tillery is professor emeritus, University of California, Berkeley, and has been involved in community college development on state and national levels. James L. Wattenbarger is director of the Institute of Higher Education at the University of Florida. Like Professor Tillery, he has been active in the development of community colleges in the country at large as well as within his own state.

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Given the relationship between effective governance and shared purpose, the future of the institution is best served by fully using the resource potential of faculty and students in decision making.

Power on the Periphery: Faculty and Student Roles in Governance

Richard L. Alfred

Faculty and student participation in community college governance, and the factors that influence participation or nonparticipation, play an important role in the formulation of institutional plans, priorities, and decisions. From the perspective of the college president, awareness of faculty and student motives and interests in relation to such issues as the curriculum, tuition pricing, enrollment and staffing levels, academic policies, program planning, and budgeting is essential for efficiency in the decision process. Decisions involving faculty and student self-interest are important because the educational outcomes that flow from them help to determine the character and success of the institution.

This chapter will address the issue of current and emerging faculty and student roles in community college governance. While the focus is necessarily placed on roles and modes of participation other than those associated with collective bargaining, it is important to understand that governance is a concept subject to multiple definitions that are partly determined by the values and experiences of the participant. One way to picture governance is as an antecedent and corollary of the

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decision process. In this context, governance is defined as the process for locating authority, power, and influence for academic decisions among constituencies internal and external to the college. Power is the capacity of individuals or groups (faculty, administrators, trustees, state government officials) to mobilize the resources of the institution for the attainment of specific goals for which a commitment has been or will be made. Authority is the power that an individual (president, dean, trustee, public official) possesses by virtue of the office occupied within or outside the institution. Influence is a specific case of behavioral effects evident when one individual within or outside the institution is able to alter or modify the actions of another individual. Fundamental to the concept of influence is the requirement that the decision-making behavior of individuals and groups with authority be (or have the possibility of being) different from what it would have been without the individual or group attempting to alter a decision.

Two themes in this definition of governance guide its application to faculty and students in the community college: a prevailing concern about the location of authority and power for decision making among different parties in the decision process; and the notion that one or more parties can alter a decision, depending on the nature and degree of influence brought to bear on persons with authority. Thus, expressed needs for change in the program/service mix of a community college can centralize power in the hands of administrators for curriculum decisions, while presidents and academic deans (armed with program-review data describing unit costs, program uniqueness, student outcomes, manpower forecasts, and enrollment projections) can control the tempo of program and course growth. Information showing projected financial deficits or changing needs in specific academic programs can alter faculty performance by diverting attention from personal and departmental goals to goals of job security and compensation. Expansion of the differential between faculty and administrators with respect to the amount and type of information held about curriculum issues tends to place faculty in the position of reacting to rather than determining administrative priorities. Consequently, faculty influence in the decision process will recede as centralized planning comes into prominence as a mode for administrative decision making in community colleges.

Power and Periphery

The governance pattern prevalent in community colleges since the mid-1960s can be characterized as a mix of bureaucratic and political

models (Richardson, 1976). Through control of rewards, penalties, and the channels of communication (especially to the board of trustees), administrators have mostly been able to achieve their own priorities and promote their own values. Disdain for the involvement of faculty and students in decision making is common among administrators: Neither faculty nor students possess sufficient knowledge or information to make decisions, and certain decisions (such as those concerning institutional objectives and financial strategies) are too important for faculty and students to make. Managerial dysfunction is likely when faculty and students press for greater involvement in academic decisions during periods of resource scarcity; thus, both groups are relegated to a peripheral role in decisions related to finance, long-range plans and priorities, and organizational structure.

The effects of this peripheral role are most evident in the tendency of institutions to appoint special-purpose committees composed of faculty and students to address specific functions and issues. Such committees have always directly or indirectly advised presidents; thus, presidents have been able to accept or reject committee recommendations selectively. Faculty and students have achieved involvement in the decision process through such special-purpose committees, but the difference between involvement and influence has enhanced the control of administrators by reinforcing their prerogative to use information selectively. Faculty and student participation in governance must be considered within the frameworks of actual and potential power. Constraints on faculty include administrative control over channels of communication; divisions among faculty on the basis of age, curriculum specialization, and tenure status; the power of administrators and trustees to eliminate programs and staff under conditions of fiscal urgency; tensions between the group of faculty members that favors collective bargaining and the group that prefers a more traditional role in governance; and faculty's increasing interest in off-campus entrepreneurial activity. Similarly, the diverse and transient nature of the student body prohibits students from gaining a foothold in governance, either individually or collectively (Alfred, 1974). More than half attend college on a part-time basis; more than two thirds have part- or full-time jobs; many belong to the first generation in their families to attend college; many are older students with significant family responsibilities; many are students returning to school; and the student population is also highly diversified in terms of age, race, social status, income, and educational background. Such constraints on faculty and student participation in governance have always been present, but they have been mitigated, in part, by changing the values and interests of faculty

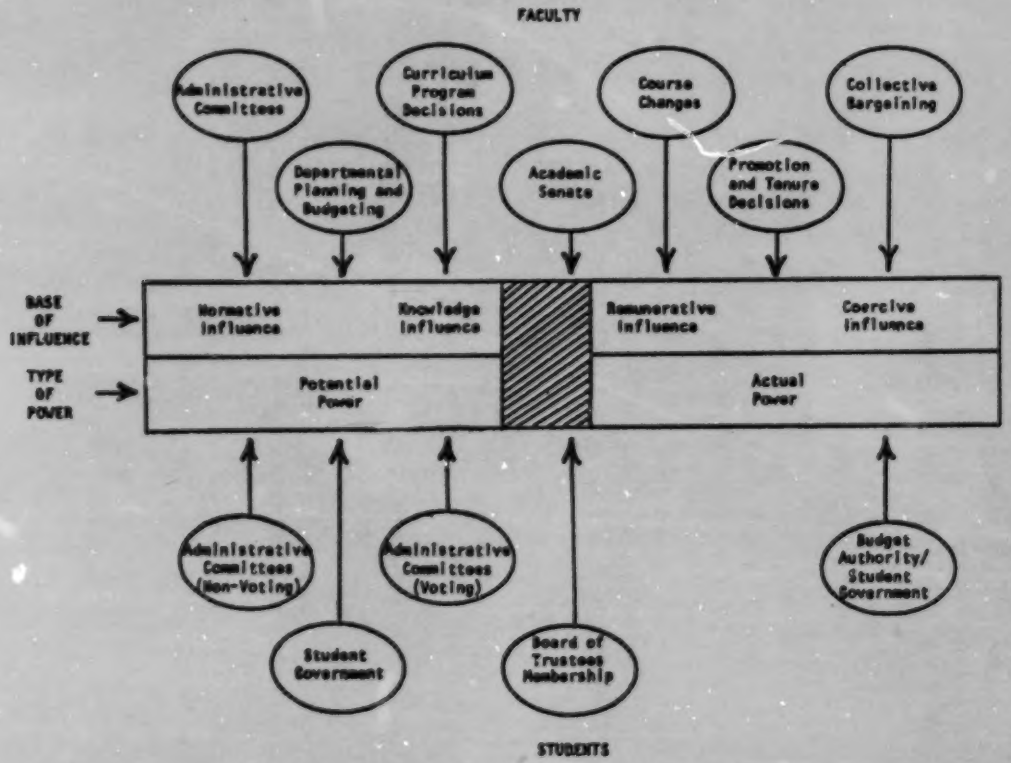
members and students. Since the early 1970s, collective bargaining and student consumerism have been leading to expanded participation in governance. Examination of decisions affected by these factors shows extensive faculty and student influence over salary and benefits, work conditions, grievance procedures, teaching loads, due process, faculty evaluation, and course offerings and assignments. Nevertheless, faculty and student influence has been limited and indirect with respect to planning and budget priorities, program development and closure plans, resource allocation and reallocation strategies, development of new revenue sources, and staffing and enrollment levels. Such limited influence over strategic decisions reflects a governance pattern peculiar to community colleges: Since organized groups of faculty and students have always represented potential power over programmatic and financial decisions, administrators have conceded some authority over decisions considered peripheral to strategic management. Unfortunately, however, failure to engage faculty and students in strategic decisions is costly, because—even though decision making may be more efficient with fewer parties involved—faculty and students may abdicate important roles and responsibilities in favor of serving their own personal interests, which may or may not coincide with institutional goals.

Current Contexts for Governance

Involvement and influence of faculty and students have been topics of concern since the late 1960s, and they still dominate discussions of governance today. Community college governance is in the process of shifting from political and bureaucratic decision making (with loosely defined roles for faculty and students) to decision making on the basis of formal criteria and carefully defined roles. Standardization, documentation, and centralization have become the watchwords for governance in the 1980s. With increasing economic and technological change and greater complexity in college organizational structures, the problems related to student and faculty roles in governance have intensified. Such changes are outpacing the knowledge and learning skills of faculty and students. As decision making becomes centralized in administrative cabinets and state agencies, faculty and student participation in strategic decisions remains problematic.

Figure 1 shows the range of actual and potential power in the faculty and student roles, as they are constituted in governance today. In Figure 1, faculty and students are portrayed as coalitions that bargain with administrators for specific goals in decision contexts ranging from shared governance (faculty and students in charge) to centralized

Figure 1. Distribution of Faculty and Student Roles in Governance



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planning (administrators in charge). The middle, gray area of the figure represents negotiation, which sustains notions of collegiality at the expense of bureaucratic authority. The essense of bargaining is tactics—efforts to produce and manipulate information to create specific decision alternatives, test or evaluate alternatives proposed by administrators, and assess the commitment of administrators to a given position. Tactics will vary with the relative power of faculty, student, and administrative coalitions.

Figure 1 identifies four bases of influence, which show the differences between the potential and actual power of faculty and students in the decision process: the control inherent in representation and input functions (normative influence), the control of information (knowledge influence), the control of rewards (remunerative influence), and the control of penalties (coercive influence). Faculty and student participation in governance can be peripheral or powerful, depending on the type of influence that is employed and the issue to which it is directed.

Faculty. Anxiety about cutbacks that threaten every level of the institution is beginning to affect the personal and professional lives of faculty and to change their attitudes toward governance. Thus, although faculty morale at community colleges may be chronically low because of limited influence over planning and governance, faculty interest in governance is now increasing, by necessity. There is growing use of remunerative and coercive influence to maintain and enhance staffing levels, salaries and benefits, and job security.

The current difficulty and uneasiness experienced by faculty derives from one or both of the following conditions in community college governance.

1. The administration is perceived as having no clearly formulated set of goals for the college; no concept of future directions, given emerging federal and state public policy; and no idea of how the institution's various academic and nonacademic divisions are currently performing. Therefore, institutional resource allocation procedures appear to be ad hoc at best and may easily produce developments that are not in the best interest of the faculty, the students, or the public.

2. Although the administration has a well-developed set of goals and a carefully formulated set of procedures for attaining them at minimum cost and maximum speed, faculty and students have limited awareness of these factors and simply assume that decision making reflects only the needs and interests of administrators.

Studies have shown that faculty members perceive more limits and less understanding for themselves in policy formation and decision

making than administrators do (Moten, 1979; Richardson, Fisk, and Okun, 1983). The reasons cited are apathy and lack of participation by faculty. As faculty's interest begins to grow with respect to the effects of technological change and resource scarcity that could divide faculty into "haves" and "have nots," collective bargaining becomes the primary mechanism for faculty participation in governance. This development reduces the position of faculty to a focused role in decisions related to such special issues as job security and work conditions.

Students. Options for students' participation in governance are scarce in institutions where students commute to campus and arrange classes around work, where concerns are growing about the connection between education and work, where courses unrelated to careers are avoided, and where special interests (financial aid, course and program offerings, counseling services) tend to divide rather than unite students. Research findings indicate that students generally have positive attitudes toward the governance structure, although they cannot provide accurate descriptions of the structure, nor can they identify specific responsibilities within the structure (Lord, 1978; Francis, 1981; Schorzmann, 1976). Students want to be involved in governance, but they do not seek total control in any one area. They prefer equal footing with faculty and administrators in a number of decision areas, including the establishment of institutional goals, selection of the president, and decisions on curriculum and courses. They want a strong voice in the establishment of degree requirements and in the regulation of student conduct, but they do not favor participation in such faculty-related decisions as hiring, promotion, and determination of class size and teaching load.

Examination of the formal and informal roles of students in governance shows that students exercise potential power through places on administrative committees and sometimes through seats on boards of trustees. Potential power is rarely translated into actual power.

Students tend to be part of a power-driven organization, with a governing board and administrators holding ultimate authority and dispensing power downward (Lepchenske, 1978). Student groups and organizations have limited responsibility and authority, and inherent frustrations are magnified, so that self-interest is called into every judgment. Although a power-driven organization can evolve into a purpose-driven organization, with students holding defined responsibilities (along with faculty and administrators) for strategic decisions, such evolution is unlikely to occur with the kinds of strong incentives for participation that already exist in off-campus organizations and community groups.

Emerging Governance Models

One distinguishing feature of community colleges is that administrators anticipate future trends and acknowledge institutional strengths and weaknesses with respect to the future. Thus, prospects for changing faculty and student roles in governance develop according to upcoming issues that command the attention of administrators. What are these issues, and what are their implications for faculty and student roles in governance? Will new models for governance emerge according to changing conditions? What will these new models look like, and how will they affect relationships among faculty, students, and administrators?

Issues and Implications for Governance. Community colleges are at the center of an unfolding debate about the purposes, financing, and structure of American postsecondary education. Many of the issues that will have an impact on governance will actually be old issues, which have not received enough attention in previous years, while some will be new issues that call on the creativity of faculty and administrators. These issues include:

- the constantly changing values of public officials who accuse colleges of educating too many or too few people, and for the wrong objectives
- ambiguity in the institutional mission (with resulting negative impact in public opinion), including questions about what the distinctive features of the community college are and how these features are unique in comparison with those of other postsecondary institutions
- projected improvement in the academic skills of future entrants, with resulting impact on the structure and delivery of academic programs
- declining enrollments and steady-state problems characteristic of a stop-start economy
- aging facilities and equipment, which will require massive infusion of new resources if the college is to provide up-to-date programs
- the changing market for community college graduates, and sharp divisions among faculty and administrators about the appropriate mix of liberal arts and technical education in a technological economy
- the prospect of renewed inflation and reduced discretionary income, which will call for new revenue sources to support

program and staff development and for resource reallocation strategies to sustain quality in programs

- increasing public and consumer demand that institutions prove, on the basis of cost-benefit information, that performance outcomes meet or exceed claims stated in educational objectives
- competition among four-year colleges and universities, K–12 school districts, and proprietary institutions in defining and delivering programs to a shrinking student population
- problems of getting secondary and postsecondary institutions within specific geographical regions to cooperate in providing total services with minimum duplication
- methods to retrain and replace faculty and introduce new faculty at institutions that have reached a mature stage of development
- the undersupply of qualified faculty in key academic disciplines, and the competition for faculty in high-demand fields
- changing patterns of legislative, judicial, and bureaucratic involvement in the administration of community colleges
- the emergence of expanded or changed patterns of control by state coordinating boards, with significant implications for institutional autonomy in tuition pricing, budget development, mission definition, and curriculum mix
- the changing role of faculty in a decade of advancing technology, with new modes of participation in governance evident as a result of expanded access to information technology.

New Governance Models. These issues will coalesce over the next several years and exert new pressure on administrators to expand the role of faculty and students in governance. The next step is likely to be further definition of the appropriate role of faculty in internal decision making and in lobbying activities directed to legislative decision making and to the state budget process. Similarly, as students exhibit increased interest in decision making—primarily as a result of their need to acquire information about program costs and benefits for decisions about courses and careers—a new wave of consumerism is likely to appear, with students making institutional and program selections based on published, quantitative information. The desire to stabilize or enhance institutional enrollments will encourage administrators to devise new methods for incorporating students into decision making, if for no other reason than to obtain useful information about marketing and recruitment strategies.

If faculty and student roles in governance are likely to expand in the future, what will these roles be? The immediate answer is that no one model of governance will suffice for faculty and students in community colleges; multiple models are possible, each one predicated on important characteristics of the administration. Three such models are described below.

Functional Model. Starting with Richardson, Blocker, and Bender (1972), practitioners and researchers alike have recognized the prominent role of expertise in decision making at community colleges that have reached an advanced stage of development. Organized groups of faculty and students who hold specialized knowledge about such functions as curriculum construction, recruitment and retention strategies, and assessment of student educational needs and interests can influence decision outcomes by regulating the amount and type of information injected into the decision process. Given the rising trend toward specialization, a functional model for governance could emerge, with organized groups of faculty, administrators, and students brought together and held responsible for specific decisions. These groups could be organized according to the "quality circle" concept (Hirshfield, 1983; Ladwig, 1983; Moretz, 1983). Their role and purpose could be described as integrative.

Faced with intensified competition for students and revenue, community colleges will need to devote increased attention to relations among students, faculty, and administrators as a method of improving productivity and quality. Improvement in quality and productivity is a complex task that is probably accomplished best through rewarding good performance and emphasizing quality. Research has shown that bringing faculty, administrators, and students together in small voluntary groups on a regular basis to set goals, identify and analyze problems, locate solutions, and cooperate on solutions improves quality and productivity by elevating morale and placing decision authority in the hands of those responsible for implementing solutions.

The functional model of governance would be ideal for an established community college with a large cadre of middle-level managers and faculty interested in new roles as a route to career mobility. As the educational levels of staff increase and opportunities for mobility decrease, there is a rising expectation for new forms of involvement in the decision process. The functional model could work to reduce the tension between expectation and opportunity for the growing number of "baby boom" faculty and administrators, who experience career malaise as individuals stay in positions longer and as competition for available positions intensifies among staff.

Coordinated Systems Model. The 1990s will see rapid growth in information systems at community colleges, in government agencies, and in private-sector organizations. Decision makers will become comfortable with the new technology and will employ sophisticated information systems in making decisions about programs, students, resources, staff, and facilities. The future shape of governance could be described as one of coordinated systems, in which multiple systems for decision making would consist of four primary decision-making groups: faculty; trustees and administrators; agencies of state government; and private-sector organizations. In matters of academic affairs, organized faculty groups (through a representative senate, curriculum committee, or collective bargaining association), private-sector organizations (through program advisory committees, presidential advisory committees, and personal influence networks), and state government agencies (through program approval mechanisms and resource allocation procedures) would have considerable (if not final) authority over such matters as degree programs, degree requirements, curriculum structure, course offerings, faculty selection, admission standards, and the academic calendar. Administrative problems involved in fund-raising, budgeting, public relations, institutional planning, student services, and academic support services could still be resolved by trustees and administrators, but in direct communication with the information networks and decision inputs of faculty, state agencies, and private-sector organizations. In short, it would be difficult for administrators to make major decisions—either academic or administrative—in isolation.

The joint interest of faculty and external constituencies, and the increased capacity of these constituencies to shape institutional decisions through sophisticated information systems, could be the driving force underlying new initiatives in governance. In this context, governance would differ significantly from earlier conceptions, because it would involve a much larger number of actors, many of whom would be external to the institution. To illustrate, decisions about the development, design, modification, and discontinuation of academic programs have traditionally rested with such internal constituencies as faculty and administrators; in the decade ahead, external constituencies could become more deeply involved in these decisions. Table 1 illustrates some of the reasons.

Organizational dualism between internal and external constituencies concerned about academic program decisions could intensify in the 1990s. Efforts by campus administrators working with faculty may be needed to develop sophisticated information systems that can neutralize or counteract the information generated and employed by external

Table 1. Involvement of External Constituencies in Decision Making

Constituency	*Rationale for Involvement in Programmatic Decisions*	*Information Systems Utilized in Programmatic Decisions*
Business and Industry	Concern about the quality, skill training, and promotability of associate-degree graduates entering the regional labor market	Private market forecasts for new and replacement positions by occupation title Data regarding anticipated change(s) in employee skill requirements by occupational title
State Coordinating Boards	Concern about program duplication and cost-benefit factors associated with career and technical programs offered by post-secondary institutions	Published forecast data for labor market needs by occupational title Student outcome and cost data for comparable academic programs in different colleges
State Legislature (Higher Education Appropriations Committee)	Concern about appropriations to institutions with duplicate, low-quality, or costly programs	Published forecast data for labor market needs by occupational title

agencies. Community colleges may need to adopt an approach to decision making built around internal subgroups of faculty and administrators responsible for the development and maintenance of specialized information subsystems. These systems would be capable of immediate application to specific decisions, and they would be coordinated by teams of faculty and administrators; hence, the term *coordinated systems.*

Rewards/Incentive Model. The rewards/incentive model of community college governance focuses on individual rewards as the driving force behind faculty and student participation in governance. Essential features of this model would be collaborative decision making, open communication, extensive personnel interaction, and motivation through reward (Roueche and Bak, 1983). Faculty involved in planning and decision making at departmental levels should experience the rewards of job security and salary advancement in return for their work. Students engaged directly with faculty and administrators in decisions about curriculum construction, academic support services, and instructional innovation should realize rewards of advanced career marketability and economic credibility.

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Confronted with problems of a rapidly changing job market, budgetary constraints, and obsolescence of the knowledge associated with advancing technology, faculty and students should be motivated to gain control over elements of the decision process that impinge directly on their lives in the organization. Participation in departmental strategic planning and management is one way of generating and gaining control over information that could affect one's status in the institution. The top-down governance structure would not be altered in this model, but the capacity of faculty and students to influence decision outcomes would be maximized through the quality and comprehensiveness of the information they would bring to the decision process. The format for faculty and student participation in this governance model resembles that of a lobbying organization.

Faculty and students would aggressively lobby the administration and the board of trustees to expand their participation in presidential task forces and committees responsible for master planning, budget priorities, and goal setting. They would also seek expanded roles for academic departments and student government in budget development within the existing governance structure. With increasing faculty and student involvement in the process dimension of institutional governance—identifying the mission, setting goals and objectives, assessing community needs, identifying programs and services which can be justified and implemented, calculating resource requirements, determining resource allocations, determining priorities and alternatives, and conducting quantitative and qualitative evaluations—expansion of influence over decision outcomes would follow logically.

The rewards/incentive model could pose problems for administrators who want enough flexibility to adapt the institution to rapidly changing conditions. It may prolong the decision process, impairing the ability of the institution to develop rapidly a needed program and deploy resources efficiently. It may also divert the attention of faculty and administrators from key developmental issues, such as resource reallocation and program and staff development. For this model to be successful, a clear understanding of the relationship between individual rewards and institutional vitality would need to be cultivated.

Conclusion

Faculty and student participation in governance is characterized by what we may call power on the periphery: Neither group will achieve full realization of its latent power until coalitions voluntarily form around meaningful issues, or until administrators, faced with

increasingly complex external conditions, have no choice but using the resource potential of faculty and students in strategic management. Effective governance depends on a shared purpose. New governance models that reflect the shared interests of faculty, students, and administrators could emerge as by-products of changing conditions and issues. Unfortunately, dialogue concerning faculty and student roles in governance is apt to be delayed until the economic and public policy issues now facing community colleges are resolved. The federal and state governments are in their worst fiscal shape in years, and the economy, while pulling out of a severe recession, is moving toward an uncertain recovery. Resources for community colleges are limited and are likely to remain so. It is becoming increasingly important to use human resources equitably and efficiently. Understanding the potential value and benefits of faculty and student participation in governance is crucial to this goal.

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Richard L. Alfred is associate professor of higher education and director of the Community College Program at the University of Michigan.

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The role of trustees becomes more prominent in the governance of colleges as issues become more complex and as the trustees themselves experience problems in qualifying for their enhanced responsibilities.

Governance and the Shifting Role of the Board of Trustees

Edmund J. Gleazer, Jr.

The trustees of a community college are ultimately accountable for all aspects of the college's operations. "The trustee is the governor of the college. Final authority for the college—its mission, programs, and actions—is to be in the hands of the trustees" (Griffiths, 1979). There is nothing new in this description of board responsibilities, but change in the colleges and in their environments gives new emphasis to this fundamental tenet of boardsmanship.

Informed national observers report that trustees are becoming more involved than they were formerly. Reasons include more frequent litigation to remedy alleged wrongs by the college, and arduous budgeting reviews necessitated by financial cutbacks. Collective bargaining often has a similar effect. In all these cases, more board decisions and, hence, more time and sharper attention are required.

At the same time that the board agenda becomes heavier, trustees often perceive the role of the community college president in a changing light. In the earlier days of the institution, board members commonly knew little about the nature of community colleges, their distinctiveness, philosophy, and mission, and so they sought presidents who had that expertise and relied heavily upon them for guidance.

W. L. Deegan, J. F. Gollattscheck (Eds.). *Renewing Effective Governance.* New Directions for Community Colleges, no. 49. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, March 1985.

Now, whether the trustees consider themselves sufficiently self-reliant or whether they are expressing the dynamics of social change, they appear more assertive, less likely to be awed by the president's knowledge, and they seldom see themselves in a subordinate role. The trustee role is becoming more prominent in the governance of the institution.

Trustees have assumed increased responsibility, just as the issues they confront have become more numerous and complex—even more complex than those addressed in the establishment and early growth of the colleges. For example, should the college have an open-door admission policy? If so, how can this be made a viable policy? How comprehensive should the mission be? Should the college offer general-interest programs and community services? Should the college offer a comprehensive program of developmental courses? In the face of tax limitation measures, what should tuition charges be? How are problems of inflation and, in some areas, declining enrollments to be dealt with? How can community orientation be maintained while state and federal regulations increase? How can the college be controlled locally as a larger share of financial support comes from the state level and as governors, legislators, and state boards have more to say about the mission and operation of the college? How can we ensure institutional adaptation to rapid social technological, and economic change? How can we respond to public concerns about the quality of education? What policies will promote faculty proficiency? The issues are manifold.

With the trustee role more pivotal and policy issues demanding more attention, how well are trustees responding to their enhanced role? As stewards of an institution designed to promote access to educational opportunity, are trustees developing the competence to deal with the new requirements? Are trustees qualifying themselves for their crucial role? Do boards evaluate their effectiveness? Are trustees representing the general good of the college, or political and special-interest groups? Are the best people in the community selected for board membership? Are relations with the president constructive and positive? What role is the board playing in the mission definition?

Toward Trustee Proficiency

Many observers say that trustees do not systematically and deliberately qualify themselves for their crucial role in community college governance. Others maintain that effective trustees, regardless of the success they may have achieved in other fields, must be willing to be educated in their roles and responsibilities as trustees.

The Need for Orientation and Training. Although there are some notable exceptions, systematic orientation and training programs

are missing, and trustees learn how to conduct themselves through trial and error. The results can be unpleasant, both for the trustee and for the institution. A New Jersey study (Griffiths, 1979) identified problems that have also surfaced in a number of other states: "There is a . . . problem involved in the governance of various county colleges in New Jersey. . . . This concerns the relationship between the boards of trustees of the county college and the presidents of those institutions. It is clear . . . that the delineation of the general policymaking and fiduciary role of the trustees of a county college is not quite as simple as it might first appear. The boundary line between the board's responsibilities and those assigned to administrators of the college is not one which is always easily established. In part, this problem may be because many trustees have not been sufficiently instructed on how to function as a trustee. . . . If a trustee does not know how to participate effectively, this will hamper a board's effectiveness" (p. 33).

The New Jersey Commission recommended that the State Department of Higher Education initiate a comprehensive program of trustee orientation and in-service training in consultation with the community colleges. Programs would be provided to acquaint trustees with various areas in the operation of their colleges, such as contract negotiations, budgeting, and academic evaluation, as well as with general information on the role of a trustee.

Among trustees and presidents alike, there is support for comprehensive orientation and in-service training programs. There are questions about the scope and content of those programs, as well as about the most effective sponsors. In some cases, a board committee has responsibility; in others, it is the president, together with a trustee group. In some states, a state-level board provides appropriate materials and programs. Tatum (1984) has developed the Community College Trustee Evaluation Instrument. It begins with a request for the board member to write, privately, a description of the mission of the college. This is followed by the trustee's own statement of community college philosophy and by questions and statements to delineate the policy functions of the board, the president's role, approaches to evaluation of the president, the budget, institutional goals and objectives, financial policy, legislative framework, long-range planning, educational program, the board's annual assessment of its own performance, what constitutes ethical behavior, collective negotiations, and procedures for conduct of meetings and for trustee development.

The Association of Community College Trustees conducted its first New Trustees Academy at its annual meeting in the fall of 1984. According to the sponsors, orientation was either not being done at the local level or was being done inadequately. An active trustee association

in one state has proposed the establishment of an academy for trustees; units of study would be made available throughout the country, and those participating would become fellows of the academy. The Association of College and University Governing Boards has materials and workshops available for the orientation and development of trustees. Further need for efforts to prepare people for board membership is found in the impression of many community college leaders that there is more turnover in board membership and more diversity in board composition. There appears to be an increasing number of younger people, more minorities, and more women.

Determining Board Effectiveness. What steps are boards taking to find out how well they are doing, to determine their own effectiveness? A recent study of six major community colleges in Texas (Wheelan, 1984) asked boards if they had self-evaluation procedures. Trustees from only one board out of the six said yes. (Curiously, three of the chief executives said yes.)

Not many cases of periodic board self-evaluation come to one's attention. According to laws in Florida, each local community college board must formally evaluate itself every four years and submit the results to the state board of education. The response to this requirement appears to be mixed; one president was unaware of it. In another Florida institution, the evaluation is conducted annually as part of the Accountability Standards Evaluation Report to the state-level Division of Community Colleges (Palm Beach Junior College, 1984). The college evaluates itself on seven criteria: needs assessment, student goals, personnel decisions, equal opportunity, program plan and evaluation, fiscal management, and differentiation of duties. The president of the college appoints an accountability standard study coordinator to assist the college board of trustees in developing the structure, procedure, and schedule for the evaluation. The process begins with a workshop session of the board of trustees. Committees are appointed, with trustees and staff as cochairpersons. All five trustees serve on at least one committee. Committee membership includes college faculty, students, administration, staff, and participants from the community. The criterion for differentiation of duties provides for clear differentiation between the policymaking role of the board of trustees and the management role of the president, with other administrators taking direction from the president. The board of trustees determines the programs and services to be offered, as well as their effectiveness and efficiency. The president is responsible for the operation of the college and for implementing board rules. The board appoints a committee on differentiation of duties, and the committee reviews board agenda items, as they relate to

state law and rules and to local rules, for a one-year period. The findings are reported to the full board. The values of such a process are many. Trustees are involved in a broad process of institutional evaluation. Relations of president and board are reviewed, on a regular and systematic basis, as a natural and integral part of the institution's operations. Evaluation is an essential element in the development and maintenance of board proficiency.

Politics and Special Interests

The most basic principle of boardmanship is that a trustee's responsibility is to the general good of the institution; no trustee should represent a specific constituency or special interest. Concern is voiced by many community college leaders over what they fear is the politicizing of some community college boards. One need not judge the merits of the case either for the administration or for the faculty of Coast Community College District to be disturbed by the implications for community college governance suggested in a recent newspaper report:

> In a dramatic move, the trustees of Coast Community College District have voted to rehire all teachers laid off earlier this year by a previous board. The board conceded the rehiring puts the budget out of balance and may cause a $232,000 deficit.... Fulfilling a campaign promise, the three new members of the five-person board of trustees led the move for rehiring.... an audience full of teachers from the three colleges governed by the district... erupted into cheers, applause and embraces.
>
> New board members... campaigned this fall against the layoffs made by the previous board majority.... In addition, the teachers at Golden West... and Orange Coast rallied behind a move to attempt to recall all five board members who voted for the layoffs last spring. The recall effort failed, but it gave impetus to the ultimate election of challengers.... (Billeter, 1983)

In Michigan, for the first time in the 166-year history of higher education in that state, the state moved to take power away from a college's board of trustees. Members of the legislature passed a law giving the state superintendent of schools authority to withhold state aid (50 percent of the budget) if trustees fail to follow his advice on academic matters, investments, and day-to-day management. The college has had three presidents and two interim presidents since late 1980.

Deterioration in Board Quality. The concern about trustees representing special interests is expressed not only for boards elected by citizens of the community but also for appointed boards. One of the most explicit statements is found in Griffiths (1979):

> There has been an erosion in the quality of the members of the boards of trustees of this institution [the county colleges] in recent years, and a concomitant increase in the number of members who have important political ties. The trustee board no longer acts as a barrier to the intrusion of external political forces, but rather serves as a conduit for the exercise of such influence.
>
> To some extent, this trend is quite understandable. In the mid- and late 1960s, when most of the county colleges were created in New Jersey, there was tremendous national interest in higher education. In New Jersey, educators were involved in the building and development stages of the county college program, and freeholders (the appointive authority) in many counties secured the services of many able civic leaders, business executives, labor officials, and other prominent, dedicated professionals to aid in this educational endeavor. Since the early 1970s, there has been a general deterioration of the economy, and the longtime upward trend in college enrollments has begun to erode. But the freeholders have not responded to the challenge posed by the problems of coping with academic and fiscal retrenchment. Instead there has been a gradual shift toward the appointment of more politically-oriented people to the boards of trustees of a number of these institutions. This is a trend which, if unchanged, bodes ill for the future.

The Political Factor. Descriptions of deterioration in quality on some boards, and the reasons cited here, are also heard in other parts of the country. Reports from California, Illinois, and other states suggest that some trustees perceive membership on community college boards as a stepping-stone to higher political office. In a recent survey of community college trustees in Illinois (Piland and Verner, 1983), four trustees said they aspired to be governor, seven indicated interest in U.S. Senate seats, five wanted to be congressmen, and four wanted state or federal judgeships. Moreover, sixteen indicated they wanted to be state legislators, eleven said they wanted to be city council members, and eight wanted to be mayors. In short, nearly 40 percent of the trustees who responded to the survey had higher political ambitions.

Here we have an interesting dilemma: Trustees and presidents alike say that trustees ought to become more active politically, to influence state legislators, who have increasing authority over community college funds. It is often said that trustees, because of their public role, are more effective in interacting with legislators than the salaried presidents are. The question is how trustees can become more political to the advantage of their institutions, without using board office as a way to enhance their own political fortunes.

Appointment Versus Election. Some say that if trustees were appointed rather than elected, the political element could be reduced. In seventeen states trustees are elected by citizens of the community college district, and in twenty-nine states they are appointed, either by state or by local officials (Griffiths, 1979, p. 29). Research shows some differences between the characteristics of appointed and elected trustees. A recent study (Young and Thompson, 1982) found that elected trustees were more likely to concern themselves with administrative matters and less likely to permit freedom for faculty and students to be part of the policymaking structures; appointed trustees were more in favor of restrictive entrance requirements. While the majority of board members in each group did not believe that trustees should be paid over and above expenses for service, significantly more appointed members were opposed to any such payments.

There is no consensus among association leaders, presidents, and trustees on the advantages of appointment versus election. Many people would be interested in seeing documentation that one way is more effective than the other. According to the National Commission on College and University Trustee Selection (1980), "Board autonomy, balance and diversity, trustee commitment, and the orientation of new trustees can be better assessed and/or achieved through appointment from a list of highly qualified nominees. The special case of community college trustees needs to be recognized, however. Their local orientation and service mission are important components of the community college philosophy. In some communities that commitment is manifest through the popular election of trustees. The Commission recognizes the validity of specific situations but continues to believe that, as a generalization, appointment of trustees, preceded by a careful screening of candidates, is the preferred method of trustee selection."

The Need to Improve Selection. Given the crucial importance of community colleges to the nation's educational enterprise, as well as the complexity of policy issues confronting those who govern these institutions, new attention must be given to measures that will promote selection of the best-qualified people to serve as trustees. According to

Pray (1975), it may be advisable to more toward the appointive process or, in the case of election, to provide for a system of acquiring board members that minimizes political considerations and provides a better balance of talents and concern. Pray also suggests that the community college board could be composed of an elected minority, an appointed majority and perhaps a few others serving ex officio or elected by the other trustees. He suggests a citizens' panel for nominating trustees to appointive authorities, and nonpartisan citizens' panels could serve the same function with respect to the electorate of a community. Regardless of the methods used, Pray urges some alternative to election and the potential abuses of election.

The Board and Its Chief Executive Officer

How healthy are the relationships of community college boards of trustees with their executive officers? Obviously, marked differences exist among institutions, but precipitous firings, short terms of office, and public displays of disagreement are numerous enough to arouse concern. Contributing to board-president tensions are such factors, already discussed, as diversity in board membership, political and special interests, and the complexity of the problems to be dealt with. Trustees often charge that they are being spoonfed and are not getting the information they need to make responsible judgments, while presidents contend that they are not evaluated professionally. Without question, changes in board makeup and behavior have profound meaning for the style of presidential leadership.

Apparently, there have been cases in which the first salvo fired between board and president was also the last. Boards sometimes resolve differences with presidents by the simple expedient of firing, rather than confronting differences in open, intelligent discussion. "Corridor" decisions by trustees may serve as evasions of more difficult but more positive methods of conflict resolution. Some presidents have been genuinely surprised at being fired abruptly. It would seem to be a responsibility of the board to find other means to deal with an issue of such consequence not only to the institution but also to the persons affected. The belief that the primary responsibility of the board is to hire and fire the president may be partially at fault. It would be better to conceive of the board's responsibilities as appointing the president, supporting the president, and monitoring the president's performance (National Commission on College and University Trustee Selection, 1980). Careful selection, specification of presidential and board expectations and goals, and systematic examination of results are essential elements in the operation of a sound institution.

Annual evaluation of the president is conducted in a number of ways at different institutions. Sometimes this is done informally in frank, open discussion between the board and the president in a retreat setting, where questions are asked about how the board could have functioned more effectively and what can be done now to improve its operation. Similarly, the work of the president is discussed, and improvement is projected. Tools useful in evaluation include a job description; annual goals and objectives, as a measuring tool; an annual written report from the president, and assessment of that report; a simple, formal evaluation form that assesses the president's personal and professional characteristics; and an annual period for the board and the president to discuss the evaluation, including the president's assessment of the board's effectiveness (Tatum, 1984). Effective boardsmanship results in positive, constructive relationships with the board's chief executive officer.

Clarifying the Mission: The Board's Basic Task

Among the changes that have taken place in community colleges, none have aroused more comment and concern among trustees than the movement of power to state levels, and the modification in community college mission called for by state boards and legislators. Local trustees charge that legislators do not understand community colleges, and yet decisions that determine funding and programs are made more and more frequently at the state level. For example, in 1983 the Florida state legislature instituted the State Board for Community Colleges, and Florida statutes were amended so that the primary mission and responsibility of community colleges was defined as providing postsecondary academic and vocational education; compensatory education, adult basic education, and other general or liberal arts courses for personal development, as well as many community services, were relegated to a subordinate position.

Similarly, in California, vocational education and transfer functions were defined in 1984 as the highest priorities of the community college mission. Trustees perceive in these developments both a shift in control from local districts to state stystems and a diminishing of local trustee authority. They often point out that there is growing centralization of power at a time when there is also a need for colleges to become even more flexible.

Have Local Boards Defaulted? In some states there have been calls for the establishment of a balance of power in college governance, with the various levels of government playing their appropriate and most effective roles. The balance of power would be contingent on the

existence of strong local boards, which would give primary attention to the mission of the college in the community. It is possible that the apparent tendency of state-level boards and of legislatures to determine local educational missions and practices can be attributed at least partially to default by local boards on a primary responsibility—the promulgation of institutional mission. The board's major responsibilities, in addition to those that concern relations with the president, should encompass clarifying the mission, approving long-range plans, approving the educational program, ensuring financial solvency, preserving institutional independence, enhancing public image, interpreting the community to the campus, serving as a court of appeal, and assessing its own performance (National Commission on College and University Trustee Selection, 1980).

Clarification of institutional mission, approval of long-term plans, and approval of the educational program are high on the list of board obligations, but trustees show more interest in physical plant, finance, community relations, and collective bargaining than in the larger issues of mission, policies, objectives, and strategy; trustees direct more attention to means than to ends. Under these circumstances, those who have fiscal power—more often at the state level—come to determine the purposes and goals of the institution. It is unlikely that the trends of the past decade will be reversed to restore funding decisions and control to local levels, but local boards, committed to college missions that respond to community needs, may be able to influence the broad policy framework of the state.

More energy needs to be directed toward clarification and justification of institutional mission. If that goal can be met, then issues of funding and regulation can be addressed in terms of whether they facilitate or impede the essential functions of the institution. The instrument developed by Tatum (1984) and discussed earlier in this chapter is precisely on target.

In the "boom" years of community college development, through the 1960s and the early 1970s, the matter of the role the institution was to play was almost constantly before the trustees; it was the backdrop for selecting the president, the framework for selecting the faculty and students, and the guide to designing physical facilities. Later periods of institutional development saw more attention given to operational matters. Now, in this period of the testing of educational institutions, a basic and pervasive question confronts community colleges: "What is our distinctive role?" The solutions to many other problems derive from the answer to that question. The question deals with fundamentals; it deals with purposes, the answer to it will be the ultimate policy

declaration of the college and, therefore, the definition of the primary task of the board of trustees. Establishing the goals and purpose of the institution—a continuous process and an urgent requirement—calls for the utmost in board wisdom and proficiency.

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Edmund J. Gleazer, Jr., is visiting professor at the George Washington University and at the University of Texas. He is president emeritus of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges.

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How colleges cope with collective bargaining makes the difference in how successfully it is used.

Collective Bargaining: The Conflict Model as Norm?

Richard J. Ernst

Collective bargaining in higher education is a relatively recent phenomenon. Two-year postsecondary institutions led the way, with the Milwaukee Technical Institute being organized in 1963. In 1965, two Michigan institutions, Henry Ford Community College and Jackson Community College, became the first comprehensive community colleges to be organized.

Collective bargaining moved to the four-year colleges and universities in 1967, with the United States Merchant Marine Academy the first to be organized. In the late 1960s and the 1970s, collective bargaining activities accelerated as states enacted public employment collective bargaining legislation. Collective bargaining moved into private institutions as the result of the 1970 action of the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), extending its jurisdiction to all private colleges and universities having a gross annual operating revenue of $1 million or more. This action of the NLRB granted collective bargaining rights to the faculty and staff of over 80 percent of the private institutions of higher education in the nation.

W. L. Deegan, J. F. Gollattscheck (Eds.). *Ensuring Effective Governance*. New Directions for Community Colleges, no. 49. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, March 1985.

The Academic Collective Bargaining Information Service of the Labor Studies Center of the University of the District of Columbia maintains current information concerning collective bargaining activities in higher education. The most recent information provided by this service (February 1984) indicates that there are 284 two-year colleges on 491 campuses that have functioning collective bargaining agreements. Most of these institutions are public, with only 12 institutions on 14 campuses being private institutions. In terms of affiliation, 9 bargaining units on 23 campuses are affiliated with the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), 83 bargaining units on 166 campuses are affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), 170 bargaining units on 259 campuses are affiliated with the National Education Association (NEA), and the remaining 22 bargaining units on 43 campuses are affiliated with coalitions of these organizations or are nonaffiliated bargaining units.

Not only have two-year colleges led the way with organizing activities, they have also led the way in becoming involved in adversarial labor relations. The first strike in higher education occurred in 1966, with a faculty work stoppage at Henry Ford Community College. Shortly thereafter, also in 1966, the City Colleges of Chicago experienced a strike. Since then, according to the National Center for the Study of Collective Bargaining in Higher Education and the Professions, there have been fifty-one work stoppages in two-year colleges, with a loss of 1,044 work days. The average length of these strikes was twenty days. Although strikes represent the extreme of collective action on the part of bargaining units, they also indicate that disagreements and conflict are not uncommon in a collective bargaining setting in two-year colleges.

Contract Negotiation Items and Issues

The Academic Collective Bargaining Information Service collects and analyzes collective bargaining contracts. This analysis is done by institutional level—university, four-year college, or community college. As a part of the analysis, the service identifies and codifies the various items in the contracts. For example, under contract management items, for community colleges, the service identifies such items as duration of contract, recognition of the collective bargaining agent, reopening of negotiations, amendment of the contract, and mediation. There is an increasing number of items entering into contract negotiations that are identified by the service as governance items. Some of the governance items have been commonplace for many years in collective

bargaining, such as personnel policies, grievance procedures, management rights and responsibilities, promotion policies, seniority, transfer policies, and evaluation policies. Increasing numbers of contracts include statements concerning committee assignments, faculty governance, and, specifically, college senates.

Items identified as academic items are also appearing in increasing numbers in negotiated contracts. These include work load/teaching load, appointment/reappointment/nonreappointment/dismissal, overload, academic freedom, class size, office hours, course preparations, professional development, textbook selection, and academic rank. Items pertaining to economic benefits have traditionally been included in negotiated contracts. Economic benefits include salaries, extra-duty compensation, travel, retirement programs, tuition remission plans, merit pay, termination pay, and bank or credit union benefits. Insurance benefits and leave benefits are also included in nearly all contracts. Working-condition items are appearing in more contracts: the annual calendar, faculty office space, parking facilities, holidays, clerical assistance, and faculty dining room availability. Finally, nearly all contracts include some bargaining-agents rights, such as meeting space, use of campus mail, use of office equipment, provision of office space, use of telephones, and assurance of participation in grievance hearings. As should be clear from the above, collective bargaining at two-year colleges has touched just about every aspect of the institution.

Separating Governance Issues from Economic Issues

As collective bargaining in higher education has matured over the past several years, there is an apparent trend toward separating governance issues from economic issues in the collective bargaining process. Further, there appears to be a trend toward greater faculty involvement in institutional governance since collective bargaining has become more commonplace in higher education. This appears to be true whether or not collective bargaining is in place at the institution.

A number of recent studies support this thesis. For example, Adler (1978) studied changes in the level of faculty involvement in decision making, as the changes were perceived by administrators and by faculty union leaders. In his conclusions, Adler states, "As we review the data and these conclusions in the light of our original model postulating economic and personal-professional factors as the prime movers toward collective bargaining, we would be encouraged now to say that *all* of the institutional groups under study have been successfully motivated to improve their governance roles, and that collective bargaining

has failed to establish itself as a particularly effective medium for doing so. Intrainstitutional changes over the period 1970–1977 have followed a progressive course toward fuller faculty participation and responsibility in decision making on matters which are essential components of academic life." Richardson and Riccio (1980) reported a similar study, which included only public two-year colleges. They concluded, "It is difficult to escape the conclusion that, regardless of whose estimate you accept, faculty are significantly more involved in decision making now than prior to collective bargaining." Ringer (1980) reported on his experiences with collective bargaining at Boston University: "I would stress that collective bargaining in higher education has not been, and is not likely to be, solely economic in its objectives, just as the pressures on the profession are by no means economic only. Thus, at Boston University, and I believe elsewhere as well, the faculty chose collective bargaining not only because salaries have fallen far behind national norms, but also to compensate for an unequal balance of power, to reestablish traditional faculty rights of participation in academic governance, and to reassert principles of academic collegiality and peer review. . . ."

While most studies conclude that faculty have gained a greater role in governance since the institution of collective bargaining, other studies have concluded that this may have come at some cost at institutions that have opted for collective bargaining. For example, Retsinas (1982) observes, "Strong militant unions won teachers a voice in policy, but negotiated policies may have intensified the maze of rules and regulations that stifle teachers."

There is sufficient evidence to conclude that collective bargaining has served as a catalyst in the establishment of a more formalized, written governance structure at all institutions, whether organized or not. At those institutions that are not yet organized, this may simply reflect efforts on the part of administrators and governing boards to avert or avoid the perceived dangers of collective bargaining. Or, as suggested by Adler (1978), this change may be attributed to "mutual goodwill and an understanding of the needs of the academic community facing financial retrenchment and the loss of institutional autonomy. In other words, everyone within the college community is trying to deal with a common threat—financial exigency."

The Relationship Between Faculty Senates and Unions

The relationship between traditional faculty senates and unions also appears to have been sorting itself out in recent years. Baldridge (1982), in his study of "dual track" governance, observed, "Contrary to expectations, coexisting faculty senates and unions have stabilized their

relationship. Testimony from campus presidents and faculty union chairs reveals that the so-called dual track, whereby senates serve the faculty members' academic interests and unions serve their economic concerns, remains viable at campuses that have both unions and senates. A combination of the legal environment within which unions operate and the professional concerns of faculty members is a major contributor to dual track stability." Polishook (1982) observed, "Collective bargaining does not seek to replace existing governance structures. It is an important supplement, rather than an alternative, to the normal forms of governance in the university."

It appears that one of the early generalizations—that traditional modes of faculty participation in governance, particularly governing bodies such as senates, will deteriorate in competition with the collective bargaining process—has not materialized as collective bargaining has matured in the higher education setting. In those institutions with collective bargaining, there appears to be developing a cooperative rather than a competitive relationship between senates and bargaining agents. Further, it appears that where traditional systems of governance have been an integral part of the institutional decision-making process, the collective bargaining structure that evolves usually reflects and reinforces the traditional governance system.

The three prominent educational organizations—AAUP, AFT, and NEA—have now all published statements concerning the relationship of the bargaining unit and the traditional faculty governance structure. The development of such statements may reflect a desire on the part of faculty to distinguish between the role of such organizations in dealing with economic issues and the role of the traditional governance structure in dealing with traditional academic issues. These published statements may also reflect the reality of what is taking place at the institutional level, rather than charting a new direction for their affiliated units.

The AAUP's (1983) statement includes the following provision: "The presence of institutions of faculty governance does not preclude the need for or usefulness of collective bargaining. On the contrary, collective bargaining can be used to increase the effectiveness of those institutions by extending their areas of competence, defining their authority, and strengthening their voice in areas of shared authority and responsibility." In like manner, the AFT (1984) states, "In any case, the governance procedures that you have in higher education can continue to exist. There is no conflict with unionization." The NEA (1982) states, "Where the traditional governance system has been reasonably effective, it should be preserved and strengthened and a dual track system established, with a strong senate/committee structure

working alongside the faculty bargaining agent. . . . Where the existing governance system has been weak, ineffective, ignored, manipulated, or dominated by the administration, it should be reformed and strengthened, if possible. . . . Where there is no pre-existing governance system, a senate/committee structure may be created through the bargaining process."

Alternative Bargaining Approaches

We are also beginning to see in the literature a few examples of experimentation with alternative approaches to reduce the once commonplace presence of conflict in the bargaining process. In a collegial setting, particularly, it would seem that all parties to the negotiating process would want the process to be less confrontational and more productive.

Birnbaum (1980) reports on several experiments with prenegotiation discussions in small groups. The results of these experiments suggest that it is useful for bargaining opponents to meet prior to the start of negotiations to discuss the issues. He summarizes his findings as follows: "The results of experiments of this nature suggest that while unilateral study of strategy leads to hardening of positions and difficulty in reaching agreement, bilateral study of the issues prior to engaging in bargaining results in quicker agreement and more yielding on the part of the bargainers. Creative academic bargainers should therefore not only avoid unilateral meetings for planning strategy but should encourage frequent bilateral meetings of the parties outside of the bargaining context to discuss problems and issues."

The use of joint study committees has also proved successful. Walworth (1981) reports on how a joint study committee dealt with the sensitive issue of divisional self-governance, particularly as it pertained to faculty evaluation. A joint study committee, consisting of three members appointed by the administration and three members appointed by the faculty union, was created to study the issue. After a year-long study, a proposal concerning this issue was approved by the committee and became a part of the next negotiated contract, with both the administration and the faculty union pleased with the final results.

Some of the experimental approaches to enhancing the collective bargaining process have dealt simply with availability of information. It is not uncommon for parties to come to the table with specific demands for which data are not immediately available for either party in the negotiating process. In the absence of data, it is difficult for the presenting party, and particularly for the other party, to understand clearly the

demand and to respond to it appropriately. Sharing of basic data is essential to full understanding of proposals and positions. Birnbaum (1980) reports on the use of interactive computer programs to permit the positions of each party and the degree of their disagreement on a specific issue to be displayed visually and compared on a computer terminal. He observes, "Particularly when conflict between the parties is caused by their inability to correctly predict the response of the other to a proposed initiative, the computer provides a means of obtaining clear information, assuming the parties are willing to provide accurate communications to each other." Ready access to institutional data can also be made available immediately through the use of a computer. Further, the use of the computer for modeling can provide immediate feedback on the costs of salaries and benefits.

The use of a neutral third party in the bargaining process has also been reported to be effective, particularly in situations that are confrontational. Birnbaum (1983) reported that when a neutral third party was invited to participate, on an experimental basis, in negotiations that were under way, the situation was "bitter and contentious." At the beginning of the experiment, the neutral party had intensive interviews with the senior administrators and the union leaders. Simultaneously, the neutral party distributed to faculty, staff, administrators, and students a questionnaire on the campus bargaining climate. Data from the questionnaire and from the interviews were analyzed, summarized, and given to campus leaders at a full-day, off-campus workshop. The questionnaire data served as a basis for dialogue, increased communication, improved relationships, and trust. When bargaining began, the neutral party was present at all joint sessions and at all caucuses of both sides, with his role changed to that of process consultant. In that capacity, he pointed out areas of potential agreement, which went unnoticed in the heat of debate; clarified statements; and made certain that each party heard and understood the collaborative overtures of the other side. Near the end of the negotiations, he served as a mediator and suggested a salary package that, after minor modifications, was accepted. Summarizing the use of neutral third parties, Birnbaum stated:

> Over the course of a one-year period, then, neutrals had been used at four different times and in four different ways: prior to bargaining to diagnose problems in the bargaining relationship and make participants more aware of their behaviors and their effects on the other side; during the early stages of bargaining as process consultants to make communications more effective and

suggest new structures for interaction; in the final bargaining stages as mediators to identify acceptable agreements that were difficult for the parties to identify themselves; and after bargaining as evaluators to assess changes in bargaining relationships and to reinforce the new ideas and processes learned so that they might carry over into the contructive administration of the contract during the next two years.

Informal and loosely structured negotiations have also been used on an experimental basis, with reported success. Adair (1981) reports on an experimental approach to bargaining, which he refers to as friendly negotiations. The underlying principle was to "replace all of the game playing, jockeying for position, and insincere demands with an atmosphere of trust." The faculty team, consisting of four teachers, was selected by the board from a slate of teachers suggested by the faculty. The board's team was selected by the faculty from a list supplied by the board. The board's team consisted of two board members and two administrators. The two teams met in an informal setting, which provided for a free exchange of ideas and discussion. According to Adair, "Neither group had to go through a spokesman, nor was there a need to measure every word for fear of its being used adversely in the future." Information was exchanged freely, and final agreements were reached without the need to resort to formal negotiations. In observing that the "old method of collective bargaining is not for us," Adair stated, "The greatest bonus from informal negotiations was the improvement in working relationships. The rapport didn't end with the contract settlement; it continued throughout the year as a cooperative attitude and a renewal of trust among teachers, the board, and the administration."

Recommendations for Improving the Bargaining Process

Collective bargaining is but one form of governance in higher education. Where there are open channels of communication and well-established internal governance structures, collective bargaining is unlikely to be introduced as an alternative form of governance. Where collective bargaining has been instituted, disruptive conflict can be avoided and the bargaining process can become productive for both parties through willingness to adopt proved, cooperative bargaining tactics. Such tactics include:

1. Bargaining and group-process skill development. Both parties to the negotiation process should obtain special training in bargaining and group process. Preferably, both parties would undertake this

special training together, under the leadership of a skilled behavioral scientist. The perceived need to use lawyers or industrial-relations specialists is likely to be reduced significantly if both parties feel knowledgeable about the bargaining process and comfortable with their ability to handle it effectively.

2. Prenegotiation dialogue. The parties should meet prior to formal negotiations to discuss openly the issues that are likely to arise during the bargaining process. Such prenegotiation dialogue should help to avoid any surprises when formal negotiations begin.

3. Joint study committees. As issues and problems are identified during prenegotiation discussions, joint study committees should be appointed to gather information and develop recommendations to address those issues. This will avoid the necessity of one party making a specific proposal in regard to the issue and the other party having to develop a counterproposal.

4. Full exchange of information. The ideal bargaining situation would be for all parties to have available the same and full information pertaining to a given issue. It is far more likely that both parties will come to the same or similar conclusions if they are working from the same data base.

5. Use of technology. The versatility of the computer should be exploited in the bargaining process. For example, issues being negotiated can be displayed, data pertaining to those issues can be codified and summarized, and immediate feedback can be provided on such items as the cost of alternative proposals in regard to economic issues.

6. Use of a neutral third party. A neutral third party, or process consultant, can be used effectively to monitor the bargaining process. Such a neutral third party can provide feedback on the effectiveness of the bargaining process, suggest ways to improve communications, identify potential areas of agreement that may be unnoticed by the parties, and suggest alternative proposals acceptable to both parties.

7. Building an environment of trust. Fundamental to nonconfrontational bargaining is the building of an environment of trust between the parties involved. Informal and loosely structured negotiations have proved effective in building an environment that supports a free exchange of ideas and information. Positions tend to become more hardened when negotiations become more formalized.

Collective bargaining can serve as a breeding ground for hostility and disruptive conflict, or as a setting for constructive and effective management of the institution. The above recommendations are proposed to lead to the latter rather than to the former.

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Richard J. Ernst is president of Northern Virginia Community College. He edited Adjusting to Collective Bargaining *(Jossey-Bass, 1975).*

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The future will bring many challenges for multiunit community college governance. The most successful responses to governance needs will be those characterized by dynamic response to the changing environment and by an attitude and process for ongoing renewal of the governance system.

Governing the Multiunit District: A Decade of Change

Benjamin R. Wygal

The enrollment boom in the community college is over, but the diversity among governance systems for multiunit community college districts remains. This is not to say that a great deal of evolution in government systems has not taken place since Wygal and Owen (1975) wrote about governance systems for multiunit community colleges. It has. But Block's (1970) statement regarding the variety of approaches in organization is also relevant today: "The patterns of multiunit organization in community college districts are fairly varied and make classification difficult" (p. 24). Although the variations in organizational patterns continue, they are all affected by changing environmental pressures. And, indeed, governance systems should evolve in response to the needs of the organization.

The purpose of this chapter is to review briefly some of the implications of the changing environment in which multiunit districts have operated since 1975 and to give special emphasis to that issue at Florida Junior College at Jacksonville (FJC). The current governance system at FJC, and how it evolved to meet changing needs, will be

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described. Finally, this chapter will suggest an approach that multiunit districts might take in the future to meet changing needs in governance.

Changes in the Environment

Ten years ago, multiunit districts by and large were characterized by enrollment growth—in some cases dramatic—which was accompanied by planning and building of campuses, less formalized policies and procedures, and a greater tendency toward campus, or individual unit, autonomy.

FJC's development was no different. In 1970, the college was overflowing with students; enrollment had far overtaxed facilities. Only two of the present four campuses had occupied permanent facilities. Policies and procedures were less formalized than today's. The organizational structure emphasized campus operations, and the governance system appeared to be more campus-based and decentralized than now.

During the late 1970s and into the 1980s, noticeable changes began to take place, not only at FJC but also in other multiunit districts across the country. A trend toward more standardization of offerings and services began to take shape. One could identify this standardization trend with a move toward more centralization.

For example, in 1977, the governing board of the St. Louis Community College District approved a recommendation by the chancellor to change the names of the three colleges that made up the district. What had been Florissant Valley College, Forest Park College, and Meramec College became St. Louis Community College at Florissant, St. Louis Community College at Forest Park, and St. Louis Community College at Meramec. These name changes were clear statements that the district was to become more of a single institution; that is, there would be more standardization and centralization.

About the same time, the Dallas County Community College District launched a new and ambitious comprehensive planning system, which was to lead to a districtwide look at resources, goals, and involvement. The planning and budgeting processes are becoming more integrated as they are refined. Subsequently, the district used its comprehensive operational plan as a self-study for reaccreditation purposes. All seven colleges of the district were visited and ultimately reaffirmed in their accreditation in one single effort.

Northern Virginia Community College has, since its beginning, operated as a multicampus single college, but continued efforts have been given to coordination of services and to line and staff (operational

versus functional) clarification. Within the last year, the college has implemented a single collegewide registration system, with a centralized registrar, to replace the individual campus-based registration efforts. Other student services, such as transcript evaluation, have been moved to the central administration offices.

These examples of moves toward greater standardization represent only a few responses to the changing environment. Nationwide, the changing environment appears to be characterized by a number of key indicators. Among them are the following:

1. *Greater demands by external authorities.* Legislative bodies, coordinating bodies, and study commissions, for example, are requiring more reports and greater standardization of reports. The federal government continues its reporting requirements, especially regarding the area of student financial aid.

2. *Increased control of resource allocation.* At state and local levels alike, a response to enrollment-pattern shifts, more requirement for accountability, and generally less and more restricted funding cause policy makers to move toward more standardization and justification of resource allocation.

3. *Intensified interest in planning.* Again, at state as at local levels, more attention is given to planning systems that require more standardization in both approach and development.

4. *Increased pressure from clients for consistent services from campus to campus.* Students are demanding more standardization of services (such as financial aid) and offerings (such as program requirements and textbook selection).

5. *Greater demand from college employees for consistent treatment throughout the workplaces of the district.* Personnel decisions regarding work schedules and other working conditions (and unionization) press for moves toward more standardization.

The environment within which multiunit districts operate has changed considerably over the past decade. Such environmental changes certainly represent changes experienced at FJC. Before a more complete description is given as to how FJC's governance structure has responded to these environmental changes over the last decade, a brief description of the general status of the college should be given.

Although the college's facilities and student body have grown considerably over the last ten years, the overall enrollment has basically reached a plateau in the neighborhood of 74,000 students annually (nearly one third taking college credit courses, and the remainder taking noncredit courses). In fact, enrollments in academic and preprofessional courses are actually declining. Future growth is expected to be

quite slow, especially since there is a decline in the rate of high school graduates in the two-county area served by FJC, and in view of the addition of lower-division courses for the first time this year at the local upper-division state university.

The college has now occupied the last two of the four permanent campuses, a college administration building has been constructed, and a special-purpose training center will be occupied in the fall of 1984. Total investment in plant now exceeds $80 million. Classes are also offered at up to 250 off-campus centers at various times during the year in such locales as the public schools, business firms, churches, hospitals, prisons, and other institutions.

FJC employs some 2,800 persons, nearly 1,900 of these teaching faculty, of which about 350 are full-time. The annual operating budget approximates $50 million. The two-county service area in coastal northeast Florida has more than 600,000 residents. Continuing education and greater cooperation with business, industry, government, and the professions appear to be the areas of greatest opportunity for growth and expansion in the future at FJC.

Reorganization

In the summer of 1977, the president and the board of trustees of the college agreed that the administrative organization, the job classification system, and the compensation structure needed formal and intensive study. Consultants were appointed to provide a comprehensive review and analysis of the college's organizational structure and staffing patterns, to assist in developing a plan for updating the classification and compensation programs, and to conduct a general review of employment practices and programs. In addition to analyzing policies and procedures, the consultants interviewed hundreds of faculty, staff, and administrators individually and in groups. The consultants' report was completed in the spring of 1978. Among other things, it resulted in a major change in the organization at the top executive level. A new position, executive vice-president, replaced the two district vice-presidents for campus operations and administrative and business services. The campus heads, provosts, remained in place, but minor modifications were made throughout the organization.

Just prior to this study, two more studies were to have an impact on the internal governance system of FJC. A thorough internal study was to introduce a new curriculum decision-making process, and a second was to lead to a process that would provide unified input from employees regarding compensation.

In the spring of 1976, a faculty committee was appointed by the president to study the internal system of governance, as it related to curriculum actions. While an effort to unionize the faculty had been soundly defeated by the faculty the previous fall, it became apparent that curriculum decisions were a concern of the faculty within the context of governance.

The study committee's objectives, as contained in its final report, were to clarify the perceived problems of the curriculum decision-making process as it related to faculty; to make recommendations that would improve governance in terms of curriculum; and to specify the procedures, roles, and relationships of a proposed new system.

The final report of the study resulted in a new college-credit curriculum process, which sought to provide more effective representation and input from all affected personnel (especially faculty) of the college. Campus curriculum coordinators were established, and delineations were made as to what constituted a single-campus proposal and a collegewide proposal.

The compensation study was done a year later by a broad-based committee and followed a systems approach study similar to the curriculum process study. As a result of that final report, a new compensation input process was implemented. The new process formalized a system for input into its deliberations from the three major employment groups: faculty, administrators, and career employees. Major input was to be sought from the faculty senate, the Career Employees Council, and a newly developed ad hoc administrators' group. The newly developed curriculum and compensation processes both included methods for their own modification and renewal. Modifications to both processes have taken place over the years, and now both have been included in FJC's administrative procedures manual.

Since the appointment of a new executive vice-president in the summer of 1978, the college has been heavily involved in refining and formalizing its organizational structure, its governance system, and its policies and procedures. Among the results of those ongoing efforts are:

1. *An entirely new and complete administrative procedures manual.* This manual is a multivolume set of definitions and descriptions of the various administrative procedures and the attendant organizational structure explanations. The formal elements of the college's governance structure are included in the manual.

2. *A plan for the analysis and updating of the administrative organization.* As a part of the ongoing institutional planning process, organizational development plans are prepared. The goals of organizational development planning at FJC include not only provisions for rational-action

plans for greater efficiency, effectiveness, and clarity, but also a process to minimize the disruptive nature of organizational change by the introduction of an ongoing planning strategy. In the multiunit setting, this planning has been quite helpful in delineating operational and functional roles.

3. *Updated district board of trustee rules.* Included in the ongoing processes described above has been an opportunity to rewrite and expand board policies.

4. *New and updated manuals and handbooks.* These include a classification, wages, and benefit manual; a curriculum and instruction manual; a personnel handbook; a faculty handbook; an insurance manual; scholarship and grant guideines; college fact book; and various brochures.

Basic Elements of the Governance System

The Office of the President. After moving to the new organization, the president implemented, with board approval, the concept of the office of the president. This concept provides for a sharing of responsibilities between the president and the executive vice-president in the management of the overall operation of the college. Although specific areas pertaining to the operation of the college are shared, final responsibility and accountability continue to reside with the president.

The President's Cabinet. The executive administrative body of the college is the president's cabinet, consisting of the president, the executive vice-president, and the four campus provosts. Its primary purpose is to carry out the top-management function of the college, with emphasis on the entire institution as a single college. The president's cabinet provides executive leadership for the overall operation of the college. As such, its responsibilities are to review and act on all matters of policy and procedure; to provide the necessary communications nexus among the major administrative units of the college (college administration and the four campuses); to review all items requiring board approval, including proposed rules (policies); and, generally, to deal with any and all issues that may affect the college. The cabinet receives its authority from the office of the president.

Constituency Groups. There are two regularly established constituency groups and one quasi-constituency group. The faculty senate is a representative body of the full-time faculty and is designed to promote the welfare of the faculty and of the college as a whole. It serves as a link between the office of the president and the faculty and responds to faculty concerns of common interest. It is the primary mechanism

for faculty input on the development or modification of college rules and procedures affecting the instructional programs of the college. The senate is the official mechanism for faculty involvement in such ongoing processes as curriculum and compensation. Additionally, the senate promotes professionalism for the betterment of both the individual and the college.

The Career Employees Council serves in the same relationship with the office of the president as does the faculty senate, but in matters of concern to the career employees of the college. The council serves as the official mechanism for input and involvement in rules, policies, and procedures, as well as in compensation and benefits. It also encourages a professional attitude among the constituency group and is active in projects that further positive attitudes throughout the college and toward the community.

The administrative council does not serve as the official mechanism for input, unlike the two constituency groups previously described. The council's purpose and functions are the provision of a forum for the administrative staff to assemble monthly for the exchange of information, to participate in professional development, and to foster the team management philosophy of the college.

Student Government Association. The Student Government Association has changed little over the past decade. It still remains decentralized at the campus level, with the presidents of the four associations meeting together as a "high council." The associations continue to advance the general welfare of students and of the campuses and the college as a whole. In place for the college as a whole are the constitution and bylaws, which address both campus-level and collegewide organization.

Administrative Advisory Councils. There are four provosts's advisory councils and an executive vice-president's advisory council. The purpose of these councils is to advise and counsel the provost or executive vice-president on matters of concern to the employees working within the individual unit. The councils promote cooperation and effective communications within the unit, make recommendations and suggestions for meeting the goals and objectives of the unit, and generally promote a professional environment for all within the unit.

Equal Access/Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Advisory Councils. At FJC, each of the five major administrative units (college administration and the four campuses) as an EA/EO/AA advisory council made up of administrators, faculty, students, and professional or career employees. These councils advise the head of each major administrative unit on EA/EO/AA concerns in the unit, promote FJC's

EA/EO/AA policies among employees, and suggest ways to further goals and objectives. Each council is appointed by the head of the major administrative unit.

Administrative Staffs. Each of the five major administrative unit heads regularly meets with his staff as part of his administrative duties.

Administrative Coordinating Councils. The president's cabinet has established five administrative coordinating councils, whose primary purpose is to coordinate, within an assigned scope of responsibility, various functional affairs of the college. They communicate and share information among the representatives of the major administrative units (campuses and college administration), and review, develop, and make recommendations to the president's cabinet on policies, procedures, and activities within the scope of their responsibility. They are expected to initiate action as well as consider items referred to them by the president's cabinet. The current councils are the general education and transfer studies administrative coordinating council; the occupational/technical and adult education administrative coordinating council (this council serves as the noncredit curriculum committee); the student affairs administrative coordinating council; the learning resources administrative coordinating council; and the business affairs administrative cordinating council. These councils may have various committees reporting to them.

College Credit Curriculum Process. The basic purposes of the college credit curriculum process were described earlier in this chapter. It should be noted that there is a curriculum committee and a curriculum coordinator on each campus, as well as a collegewide curriculum committee and curriculum coordinator. There are detailed, written procedures by which any curriculum proposal is introduced and makes its way through the committee structures, with the associate vice-president of educational services reviewing proposals before they reach the president's cabinet for action. Members of the campus and collegewide curriculum committees include teaching faculty, counselors, librarians, instructional deans, other administrators, and students.

Compensation and Benefits Committee. This committee was also described earlier in this chapter. Since its inception, the committee has had its responsibilities broadened to include consideration of benefit proposals as well as compensation. The committee continues to deal with routine annual changes as well as major changes and modifications to the process itself.

Personnel Review Board. This group, composed of the executive vice-president and the four campus provosts, acts on college personnel

policies, procedures, proposals, and recommendations. It has the same membership as the president's cabinet, except that the president is excluded in order to preserve the integrity of the grievance procedure, which calls for the president to serve as the review of last resort. The personnel review board is the final administrative authority on all college personnel matters (except those identified in administrative procedures).

Program Committees. Program committees may be established by the president's cabinet, as necessary. Two current examples are the program for academic excellence committee and the developmental education committee. These receive their authority from, and report directly to, the president's cabinet.

Planning and Development Committees. Various committees have been created either to advise functional areas or to handle planning and development issues of general concern collegewide. Among the committees in this category are the collegewide planning committee, the information systems advisory committee, the staff and program development advisory committee, the international education advisory committee, the marketing committee, and the issues management advisory committee.

This description of the internal governance system of FJC does not include every committee or input process in use at the college, but it does give a fairly comprehensive overview of the system.

Conclusion and Projections

The past decade has brought many changes in the environment within which multiunit community college districts operate. Many of the environmental changes directly affect governance. Greater emphasis on standardization and centralization have resulted. The internal governance system at Florida Junior College at Jacksonville has undergone a number of modifications over the years. More emphasis has been placed on institutionalizing, or committing to procedures, most of the activities of the college, including governance. While the current governance system reflects needs created by the environment, it has the dimension of self-renewing processes, which the system did not have a decade ago. It is hoped that this dimension will help the college meet its collegial needs over the changing future.

Change will most likely be the one constant that community college leaders can depend on in the future. External pressures will most likely increase. Serious discussions of mergers and regionalization are already taking place. These and other pressures will certainly create

new challenges for multiunit community college district governance. The most successful responses to governance needs will be those characterized by dynamic response to the changing environment and by an attitude and process for ongoing renewal of the governance system.

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Benjamin R. Wygal has been president of Florida Junior College at Jacksonville since 1970. He earned the Ph.D. in junior college administration from the University of Texas at Austin in 1966. In 1982, he received the Distinguished Alumnus Award from the University of Texas College of Education for outstanding leadership in the community college movement.

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Effective governance and decision making will be crucial as community colleges confront the issues of the decade ahead. A new framework for governance is proposed to help place decision making in a broader and more integrated context.

Toward A New Paradigm: Governance in a Broader Framework

William L. Deegan

Governance is the framework in which decision making occurs. The term has taken on increasing importance as the problems, politics, and fiscal conditions of community colleges have become more complex in the past decade. Other chapters in this volume have examined changes and developments in the roles and relationships of the various constituencies, both external and internal, involved in governance processes. The objective of this chapter is to propose a new paradigm for governance—a broader framework, which can provide a more comprehensive and integrated way of examining governance issues.

While governance issues may have generated one of the largest bodies of literature in the field of higher education, no clear theory about governance within institutions is generally accepted. In practice, governance has not followed a consistent pattern; rather, it is usually related to specific issues, which are often decided without proper regard for the implications and impacts of what are often crisis responses.

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Much of the literature about governance has been concerned either with presentations of broad conceptualizations and models of the college as organizations or with issues of process and models to facilitate participation. The result of this literature might be summarized as follows.

Models for Governance. The most commonly discussed models for governance are the bureaucratic, the collegial, and the political models (see Richardson, 1975). The *bureaucratic model* (Merton, 1963) is based on principles of rationality and involves such concepts as hierarchical structure, formal communication and authority systems, and avoidance of conflict. The *collegial model* (Millett, 1962) is based on the concept of a community of scholars, which suggests that consensus and participation, rather than hierarchy and authority, are the guiding principles for decision making and policy formulation. The *political model* (Baldridge, 1971) assumes conflict as a factor at the heart of decision making; decisions are made in a context that is neither hierarchical nor collegial, but rather one in which conflict is normal as different interest groups compete to influence decisions and policies. Decisions are arrived at through negotiation and compromise.

Models for Participation in Governance. These general models of governance have been translated into a number of specific proposals for participation in governance: the traditional model, the separate-jurisdictions model, and the participatory model (Deegan, 1970; Richardson, 1975). The *traditional model* for participation in governance closely follows the bureaucratic concepts about organizations. It is a pyramid system of hierarchial authority running from students, at the bottom, through faculty to administrators and trustees. Each segment tends to focus on issues involving concerns in its own area, often with litle contact with other segments before positions harden. Decisions on big issues are made at the top of the pyramid, and so in essence it is a model for minimum participation. The second model for participation in governance is the *separate-jurisdictions* model. This model was especially prominent in the turbulent times of the late 1960s and the early 1970s and emerged as a reaction to the traditional model. This model has some relationship to the political conceptualizations about organizations, although in its most extreme form (withdrawal of groups such as departments, student governments, or ethnic interest groups into completely autonomous units) it moves well beyond concepts of negotiation to those of power and complete separation. The concept that emerged most predominantly as a result of the impact of the traditional model and the reactions to proposals for separate jurisdictions models

was the *participatory, or shared authority, model.* This model is based on collegial and political concepts and may involve use of joint committees to enhance interaction, consensus, and commitment to agreed-upon goals.

Despite the literature, in reality colleges involve aspects of all the general models of governance and the specific models for participation in governance. Some observers of this phenomenon feel that colleges are best understood when viewed as "organized anarchies" (Cohen and March, 1974). The unique organizational characteristics of colleges and universities as "organized anarchies" consist of ambiguous and diverse goals, unclear organization processes, and fluid participation by decision makers who wander in and out of the decision-making process. As Cohen and March (1974, p. 3) put it, "The American college or university is a prototypic organized anarchy. It does not know what it is doing." This conception of an academic institution makes it a problem to understand and to govern.

On the basis of these organizational characteristics, Cohen and March conceive of the decision-making process as extremely ambiguous. A decision is an outcome, or an interpretation of the relationships among four relatively independent streams: problems, solutions, participants, and choice opportunities (occasions on which an organization is expected to produce a decision). A choice opportunity is viewed as a garbage can into which various problems and solutions are dumped by participants: "The garbage can process, as it has been observed, is one in which problems, solutions, and participants move from one choice opportunity to another in such a way that the nature of the choice, the time it takes, and the problems it solves all depend on a relatively complicated intermeshing of the mix of choices available at any one time, the mix of solutions looking for problems, and the outside demands on the decision makers" (Cohen and March, 1974, p. 3). From this point of view, then, "an organization is a collection of choices looking for problems, issues and feelings looking for decision situations in which they might be aired, solutions looking for issues to which they might be the answer, and decisions makers looking for work" (p. 4).

This concept of how colleges actually function was written in 1974 and was based on studies of issues and procedures of that time and of the years immediately preceding. The issues, problems, and opportunities of the decade ahead call for more usable concepts and frameworks than either the very broad and general models for governance or the somewhat cynical concept of the college as an "organized anarchy."

The challenges to the comprehensive mission of community colleges, issues of student and staff development, the demands of a rapidly

changing society, and the projected fiscal problems of the decade ahead all call for the development of effective mechanisms to facilitate governance processes and the quality of the substantive decisions that result from those processes. Rather than accepting the inevitability of the organized anarchy, there is a need to develop more effective frameworks and concepts that can assist leaders to fairly and effectively make governance decisions to guide colleges through the difficult period ahead.

Confronting Issues of Process and Substance

For a time, primarily during the late 1960s and the early 1970s, the most controversial issues of governance involved processes and rights to participate. Calls for faculty, student, staff, and community participation in decision making dominated the literature and the discussions on campuses. Often, once the right to participate in decision making was won, groups either lost interest or participated only on issues of vital significance. A consensus emerged that participatory models of governance were the proper way for a college to operate. Action on issues of substance varied. In general, faculty and students were content to let an oligarchy of campus politicians look after the daily business of the governance of the college. Only in times of crisis did any significant number of faculty or students get involved in the governance arena.

Now a number of issues and trends are emerging that make it necessary to reconsider and perhaps reconceptualize governance processes and the way we generate substantive issues. The issues discussed throughout this volume, such as the questioning of the comprehensive mission of community colleges, present major challenges to decision makers; yet at this time, when community colleges need the best and most comprehensive decisions and the most effective governance processes, there has been a tendency to drift toward management by crisis, quick-fix management techniques, or vested-interested separate-jurisdiction power politics (Deegan, 1982). Community college administrators need to consider new ways of thinking about issues of governance. Too often the fundamental analyses and decisions necessary for the best long-term interests of the colleges can get shoved aside in favor of governance and management techniques that focus only on stopgap solutions. What is needed is a broader and more comprehensive framework for analyzing issues of substance and for deciding proper procedures to facilitate decision making.

American corporations have engaged in a similar search for

more effective governance and organizational development techniques. Many American corporations found that the emphasis on looking good in the short term—"the cult of quarterly profits"—did not always lead to decisions that were in the best long-term interests of the organization. As a result of international competition, many American corporations investigated management and organizational development techniques from other cultures, especially Japan. The intent was not simply to lift techniques from other cultures but rather to investigate concepts and paradigms that might be valuable in challenging existing paradigms in American corporations. A great many American managers may be too limited in their vision and too influenced by beliefs, assumptions, and perceptions that unduly constrain them. Kuhn (1962) has argued that fields of science undergo great creative energy and progress after they have experienced a shift in their underlying nature or paradigm. Over time, our normal paradigms (our models, or shared ways of understanding and viewing reality) become depleted, and we may experience relatively little development in a particular discipline, but if a fundamentally different paradigm begins to develop—if a paradigm shift occurs—then a field may find itself propelled into a period of creativity and progress. The success of many Japanese corporations challenges us to rethink our governance and management paradigms, to understand the contrasts between the Japanese and American paradigms, and to question whether our current paradigms are sufficient for the difficult challenges ahead.

Just as many American corporations have confronted this issue, it is important now for community college leaders to review and perhaps reconceptualize their paradigms for governance to assess their adequacy for the difficult issues contronting them.

Toward a New Paradigm

It is the primary purpose of this chapter to propose a new paradigm for governance—a broader, more integrated, and more comprehensive framework that can be used by decision makers to generate and analyze issues of substance and issues of process. In proposing this framework, there is no intention to disparage the models and analyses of governance described earlier in this chapter. Those concepts contributed significantly to the level of thought of their time, and they continue to provide a valuable basis for discussion today. The new framework for governance analysis presented in this chapter is intended to provide a focus for community college administrators as they reconsider

their current concept of governance and to provide a usable model that community college administrators could employ to analyze issues of process and substance more effectively in a more comprehensive and integrated manner.

The framework is based on research conducted at the Center for Community Colleges at Teachers College, Columbia University, and on the research and writings of Pascale and Athos (1981), Ouchi (1981), Deal and Kennedy (1982), and Peters and Waterman (1982). The framework emphasizes the importance of a comprehensive and integrated analysis of issues (as opposed to the more crisis-oriented analyses that have often occurred) and the importance of analyzing issues not only of substance but also of process in decision making.

Pascale and Athos (1981), argue that one of the keys to success in effective organizations is an emphasis on analyzing and managing a wider range of variables. Thus, rather than emphasizing one or two variables, such as strategy or structure, Pascale and Athos present what they term the "7-S" framework as a conceptual scheme for analysis:

- Superordinate goals: the significant meanings or guiding concepts with which an organization imbues its members
- Strategy: plan or course of action leading, over time, to the allocation of a firm's scarce resources to reach identified goals
- Structure: functional, decentralized, or other
- Systems: routinized processes, such as meeting formats and communication systems
- Staff: important personnel and their abilities
- Style: characterization of how key managers behave in achieving the organization's goals; the cultural style of the organization
- Skills: distinctive capabilities of the firm as a whole

Pascale and Athos concluded that the American emphasis on the so-called "hard S's"—strategy, structure, and systems—may have gone beyond the point of diminishing returns, and that the "soft S's"—staff, style, skills, and superordinate goals—are not merely frosting on the cake; they are indispensable, interdependent parts of any corporate long-term success. As Daniel observed: "The weaknesses in American management that have been at fault in our declining international competiveness have not been so much an over-reliance on analyses and technique as a failure to fit the application of technique into a broader, more complete, and more coherent concept of what enables organizations to perform in a superior way to endure over time" (in Pascale and Athos, 1981, p. 16). It is my thesis that the "7-S" framework can be used as a basis for analyzing governance issues in a more comprehensive

and integrated manner that will allow community college leaders to examine issues of substance and process more effectively. Using the "7-S" framework as a basis, a framework for governance analysis would look like Figure 1.

The framework can be used to conduct a comprehensive analysis of governance issues. This could be done about every three years to generate an analysis of substantive issues facing the college and of processes needed to effect change. The framework can also be used to analyze issues in any single area, such as the need for a change in mission or a new program proposal. The analyses could be done by outside consultants or by teams of campus personnel, who would ensure participation of all interest groups on campus and who would operate under the direction of a governance committee. The framework would generate an analysis of the present condition of the college, an assessment of changes needed, recommendations on how to implement those changes most effectively, and an analysis of the costs and benefits of the proposed changes. The framework would also force analyses and recommendations to be made in a more comprehensive and integrated manner. Thus, proposed changes in goals or structure would have to

Figure 1. A Framework for Governance Analysis

	Where We Are	*Change Needed*	*Process (How)*	*Costs Benefit*
Superordinate Goals				
Strategy				
Structure				
Staff				
Style				
Skills				
Systems				

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take into account not only impacts on the other major areas in the framework but also processes needed to ensure implementation. This more comprehensive and integrated analysis should help college leaders make more effective and implementable governance decisions.

A criticism sure to be raised in some quarters is that this kind of analysis is too time consuming, yet the problems of making effective decisions, and decisions that actually lead to changes because they are implemented effectively, plague many colleges. Lessons from Japanese management theory emphasize the importance of taking the time to analyze key decisions fully. As a recent report stated, "The Japanese agree that their decision-making process is much slower than the typically American top-down decision process, but they cite the benefits of quicker and more effective *implementation* once the decision has been made. Their claims tend to be supported by research findings which suggest that often the *quality of commitment* to a decision rather than the quality of some dimension of the decision itself is the *most* critical factor in the fate of a project" (Deegan and others, 1984).

When the Japanese have a number of alternatives, they spend considerable time discussing each alternative with those who will be affected. Because effective implementation of decisions requires a reconciliation of competing interests, the Japanese seek to explore fully the proper balance between what is substantively optimal and what is most likely to be successfully implemented.

The American drive for quick decisions often prompts managers to choose prematurely, without proper analysis of implementational feasibility. Then they often face an alienated staff and other implementation problems, which they did not fully consider. The Japanese method of combining a comprehensive analysis of the problem (and of alternative solutions) with broad consensus on the final solution makes implementation quite rapid and more than makes up for the time lost in the decision making process.

Conclusion

Richardson (1975) suggested that the idea of the community college as a group of segments must yield to a concept stressing the concerns of the whole institution. That concept is even more vital today. The issues discussed throughout this volume highlight the importance of effective governance and decision making for community college leaders. Concepts such as the organized anarchy, separate jurisdictions, or management by crisis will not guide community colleges through the difficult times ahead. It is hoped that colleges will consider

the framework for governance analysis proposed in this chapter as they seek to make necessary decisions in a more comprehensive and integrated manner for the long-term welfare of the colleges.

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William L. Deegan is associate professor of higher and adult education and director of the Center for Community Colleges at Teachers College, Columbia University.

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The system that determines how decisions are made in a college has so great an impact on the total operation of the college that it must not be allowed to develop and operate in a careless manner. Rather, it should be carefully planned, implemented with deliberation, routinely maintained, and regularly evaluated.

Developing and Maintaining Governance

James F. Gollattscheck

At its simplest level, governance is the process through which decisions are made in an institution. The process differs from institution to institution, from governance model to governance model, and from decision to decision with an institution, mainly in terms of who makes which decisions and under what conditions.

Decision Making and Governance Models

Three models for governance have dominated the literature of higher education. These have been discussed elsewhere in this volume and are briefly reviewed here to provide a context for the analysis that follows.

The Bureaucratic Model. The bureaucratic model (Weber, 1947) reflects a system within which most decisions are made at the top of the administrative structure or at the tops of subunits. Information needed for decision making flows upward, and the results of the decision-making process flow downward. Who participates in the decision-making process is determined by who has the administrative authority. The type of decision one can make is determined to a great extent by the

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area of control assigned to the decision maker, and the conditions are quite simple—the decision is usually made at the top of the administrative unit assigned authority for making such a decision. These conditions, however, are seldom so clearly stated in institutional documents; they are usually interpreted from administrative charts and job descriptions.

The Participatory Model. The participatory, or shared-authority, model of governance (Millett, 1962) describes a system within which decisions are made cooperatively by those with authority for making and implementing the decisions and by those who will be affected by them. Information for decision making is gathered jointly, and the results of the process are disseminated by the group—upward, downward, and laterally. The conditions under which decisions are made in such a system may be spelled out, in charters of faculty senates or in institutional policies, but are frequently quite vague.

The Conflict Model. Particularly when exemplified by collective bargaining, the conflict model (Baldridge, 1971) is usually the most explicit in terms of who makes which decisions and of the conditions of decision making. Collective bargaining frequently operates under state or federal laws, and because the entire bargaining process leads to the formulation of a rather detailed contract specifying who decides what, few details concerning the decision-making process are left uncovered. Some decisions may be made by persons in positions of authority, some by groups, and some via a participatory process, depending on the terms negotiated.

Difficulties with Models. The problem with using models to describe or analyze governance, as it exists in educational institutions, is twofold. First, the model usually describes a total and uniform structure—an entirely bureaucratic or participatory system—that almost never exists. Second, the description of a model implies that systems of governance in educational institutions are planned and implemented in a deliberate and orderly manner. This, too, is seldom a true picture, except in the case of collective bargaining, where the process is usually orderly, to the extent of being legalistic in terms of structure, but may be disorderly in other ways.

Governance as an Accumulation of Processes. Because governance is the process of making decisions, the actual structure of governance for a college is the accumulation of those decision-making processes the institution has used to establish policies and procedures concerning its mission, goals, and objectives; how the institution should be organized to achieve those missions, goals, and objectives; and how it operates on a day-to-day basis. As an accumulation of processes, the structure of governance of a college is far less likely to be

represented by a chart than the administrative structure of the college is. As an accumulation of processes, governance most often evolves in a somewhat haphazard fashion, without a deliberate plan or design, and is more likely to consist of processes reflecting a variety of governance models than it is to reflect one system. Few colleges are so bureaucratic that some decisions are not made in a collegial way, and it is rare to find a college so completely participatory in governance that some decisions are not made bureaucratically.

Again, because the structure of governance is a rather loose accumulation of processes created over a period of time, it is seldom examined as a total system. Evaluation, therefore, is rare. Effectiveness and ineffectiveness are more likely to be determined by satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the way a particular decision was made, or perhaps with the decision itself, than with the operation of a total system.

For many years, quite a few educators have been concerned with the ways in which decisions are made in colleges, convinced that the appropriate involvement in decision making on the part of those individuals who participate in the work of the colleges has an effect on the outcome of the enterprise. At times, these theories have been under fire from those who have seen the educational enterprise as a business or industry where profits and productivity should be paramount and relatively easy to measure and who have viewed academic attempts at participatory decision making as soft and unbusinesslike.

Renewed Interest in Study of Governance. Strangely enough, the recent interest in Japanese management theories (Pascale and Athos, 1981, and Ouchi, 1981) has reversed the situation, and now we find many major corporations and management theorists and practitioners promoting quality circles and employee involvement in management decisions. Educators now find themselves looking to industry and to the field of industrial management for leadership in this type of governance. Of even more importance, however, than the views of these theorists and writers is the emphasis that has been placed on the process of governance. We are now being told that how decisions are made in an organization is important and worthy of concern, study, and conscientious application.

It is the thesis of this chapter that the system that determines how decisions are made in a college has so great an impact on the total operation that it must not be allowed to develop and operate in a careless manner. Rather, a system of governance should be carefully planned, implemented with deliberation, routinely maintained, and regularly evaluated. It will not be the purpose of this chapter to recommend or discourage a particular style or model of governance, but rather to attempt to show that any form of governance can be made more effective

or less effective, depending on the quality of care and maintenance the system receives. The choice of a governance model—or, more likely, the selection of a particular mix of elements from various models—may not be an option of the leadership of the college. Collective bargaining, for example, may be mandatory under certain conditions. It is rare, however, for those responsible for governance not to have considerable room for choice in the way the system operates.

Development of Governance

The development of governance systems takes place in one of two settings—that of initiating or creating systems of governance in a new college, or that of changing or improving governance in an existing college. While many of the same theories may apply, different environmental conditions will usually require different practices and procedures.

New Colleges. A new college has a far wider range of options but also has some limitations. A new faculty may bring a variety of experiences from other institutions, but there is no history or tradition at the new institution—no battles won or lost, no wounds to avoid reopening, and no personal animosities that color reactions to plans and proposals. Those responsible for developing a system of governance may, therefore, operate in a less emotionally charged environment, and recommendations may be viewed more objectively. Nevertheless, a new college may lack the elements of trust that come from people's having worked together, the commitment needed to make a system of governance work, and the knowledge of the governance needs and requirements of the institution. Leaders must recognize and allow for these and other limitations of a new college with no structure of governance.

Existing Colleges. An existing college wishing to change or improve its governance system will usually find that it does not have so many options. First, there is a system of governance in operation that the people of the college may consider effective or ineffective. Further, for better or for worse, the structure of governance is inseparably tied to the people who implement it. The perceived history of decision making at the college, whether valid or not, may preclude an objective approach to future development of governance. In contrast, the existing college will have more experienced staff members, many of whom care very much about the college. They may know one another's strengths and weaknesses, and leadership is often already developed. There will frequently be existing governance structures, such as senates and committees, that can be developed.

Developing Awareness of Governance. The first step in the development of governance, either in a new or an existing college, is the development of an awareness of governance—what it is and what it can and should be, what it does and what it can and should do. Few people, either in a new or an existing college, are aware of and familiar with governance as a total structure or system; most, particularly in an existing college, are concerned with one or a few areas of decision making. One faculty member may be concerned about his or her degree of input into decisions about textbook selections; the business manager may be very concerned about who has authority for decisions regarding the college budget; nearly all are likely to be concerned about decisions relating to salaries and benefits. When there is little awareness of the total system of governance, attention tends to become focused on individual decisions.

The development of awareness of governance, as a general process and as an acitivity at the college, must be a deliberately planned activity. It is not likely to happen casually or routinely, and it will require effort. Even in institutions where decision making has become a major cause of concern and disagreement, it is more likely that concerns are centered around specific decisions and not around the system itself. A study of governance in general, and at the college specifically, that involves a number of people from different areas of the college is probably the best way to raise the consciousness level of the institutions about governance. Frequently, the study of governance can be part of another activity, such as a self-study for accreditation or a long-range planning process. The college may opt to use outside consultants, particularly if decision making has become an emotional issue at the college.

The college will certainly want to explore the literature concerning college governance, and there is a great deal of literature concerning different systems of governance. The college will find very little, however, dealing with the study of governance at colleges. Two chapters in a work edited by Richardson (1975) are directed at ways of examining governance at existing community colleges. Oosting (1975) describes a successful self-study of governance, and Coombe (1975) describes a case-study examination. Sumler (1983) reports the results of a study of the role of faculty in campus governance in Maryland colleges and universities.

A study of governance should help the people of the college understand what currently exists at the institution, as well as available alternatives. Developing an understanding of how decisions have been and are being made at the college is of utmost importance, because perceptions of governance are apt to be based as much on myth as on reality.

Among the several conclusions to be drawn from Sumler's (1983) study is the clear indication that presidents perceive faculty to have considerable involvement in governance, while faculty perceive themselves to have much less. A faculty group, for example, may be incensed over what it perceives to be a lack of involvement in budget development, and may be relatively unaware that faculty members have almost total discretion over curriculum development, as well as complete authority over classroom instructional procedures. By the same token, a top administrator may perceive the college's governance as totally participatory and overlook an area of bureaucratic decision making until problems develop. Both sides in a collective bargaining situation may become so intent on the development and maintenance of a contract through bargaining that they are unaware of large areas of decision making not included in the bargaining process.

It should be the goal of any study of governance to present a true and complete picture of decision making at the institution. Only when this has been done, and those involved can see a true picture of the total governance structure, can the college proceed to look at alternative structures or at ways of improving existing systems.

Philosophy of Governance. The first step in planning either governance systems for a new college or improvements in governance for an existing college should be the development of a philosophy of governance for the institution. Many people in the college, including trustees who have the final authority and responsibility for the college, should be involved in developing such a statement, and the process should involve a study of models of governance from the literature and examples of practice from other colleges.

The statement of philosophy of governance should recognize that it is highly unlikely that all decisions will be made in the same manner and should, therefore, reflect a multiplicity of approaches to decision making. If certain decisions are going to be made bureaucratically, the philosophy should include that provision. If the trustees of the college hold the president directly responsible for the financial health of the institution, then the philosophy must allow him or her commensurate authority for decisions about the college budget, while allowing for input and recommendations from many areas of the college. A good example can be found in the following statements, developed by the American Association of University Professors (1973): "(1) important areas of action involve at one time or another the initiating capacity and decision-making participation of all the institutions' components, and (2) differences in the weight of each voice, from one point to the next, should be determined by reference to the responsibility of each component for the particular matter at hand."

The statement of philosophy of governance performs the same function as the mission statement of the college. It describes in broad terms what the college considers appropriate. It cannot be implemented without further planning in terms of structure and assignment of responsibilities. The statement of philosophy should recognize that, ideally, the college will be a growing, changing entity and that provisions must be made for orderly change in governance systems. It should also recognize one immutable fact—no governance system, no matter how well planned or how universally agreed to, thrives untended. Therefore, the structures designed to implement the philosophy of governance in the college must include plans for evaluation and routine maintenance.

Maintenance of Governance Systems

The maintenance of a system of governance is as important as its development, yet planned maintenance of governance is even rarer. The assumption seems to be that once a system is in place, it will continue to operate until a change is called for. The fallacy of this belief is well illustrated by the committee system of any college. College committees have been compared to a room full of clocks, each wound at a different time and with a different length of running time. Unless each clock, or committee, is rewound periodically, one by one they will cease to function. Not only must they be rewound, in some cases they must be reset from time to time in order to remain effective.

The ideal system of governance would include a continuous program of preventive maintenance. Attention would be given to activities that assess the operational health of the system and its components, that recognize warning signals indicating potential problems, and that can implement remedial actions. The following checklist of questions (Nova University, 1983) should be asked routinely about any college system of governance:

1. Is the system *clearly* and *consciously* understood by those who need to understand it? (A system intended to be collegial is not effective if most of those involved perceive it to be bureaucratic.) What percentage of those involved could accurately describe the institution's system of internal governance? What steps can be taken to increase awareness where needed?
2. Are the people in the institution satisfied with the existing system of internal governance? If not, in what ways would they wish the system changed? Is a new model needed, or merely improvements? Was the existing system chosen deliberately or did it evolve more or less by default and/or happenstance?

3. Do those involved know and accept the roles they play in the system? (It is generally accepted, for example, that collective bargaining works best when both parties understand thoroughly the bargaining process and know how to function effectively in it.) What evidence exists to support the answer to this question? Are steps regularly taken to ensure such knowledge and acceptance? Is awareness of the system and knowledge and acceptance of their roles a part of the orientation of new employees?

4. Has the system been analyzed to the extent that various component individuals and groups have been identified? (Such components may include individuals, committees, task forces, line and staff officers, bargaining teams, senates, and so on.) Are all of these components functioning effectively? If not, does the system give someone or some group the responsibility for knowing about the malfunction and correcting it as soon as possible? Are those responsible for the internal governance system aware of the literature and research concerning governance, particularly of the strengths and weaknesses of the system(s) employed at the institution? Are they aware of alternative systems?

5. Has the system been analyzed to the extent that the component processes involved in the system have been identified? (Such processes may include the communications system used during the process of decision making and used to communicate the decisions made, the assignment of responsibilities to individuals and groups, the flow of decision-making authority, methods of accessing the system, and so on.) Are all of these components functioning effectively? If not, does the system give someone or some group the responsibility for knowing about the malfunction and correcting it as soon as possible?

6. Has there been a study of governance at the institution? If not, would one be feasible?

7. Does the system work, in that appropriate decisions are made in a manner consistent with the operational philosophy of the institution?

8. Is there a commitment at the institution to the continuous maintenance of its system of internal governance? [pp. 44–46]

Every style of governance presents unique advantages and disadvantages for those who are responsible, and development and maintenance efforts must be geared accordingly. Bureaucratic, participatory,

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and collective bargaining elements of governance systems are reviewed below with regard to effective development and maintenance.

Developing and Maintaining Bureaucratic Elements of Governance. The decision-making structure of the institution parallels the administrative structure in a true bureaucratic system of internal governance. Authority for decision making flows downward, from the highest level of administration to lower echelons. While decisions may be made at any level of administration, they tend to be made somewhat in isolation. A president, for example, may delegate to a dean the authority for the selection of a textbook. The dean may then delegate that authority to a chairman of a specific department, who in turn delegates it to the faculty, where the decision is made. Authority has been passed downward; communication regarding the decision made will be transmitted upward. In such a situation, there is no regular process of involvement of the various levels in the making of a decision.

The greatest strength of bureaucratic elements of governance is that they are extremely efficient. It is easy to make decisions quickly and with a minimum of conflict. Because of this efficiency, the institution can usually respond to situations immediately.

A frequently identified weakness of bureaucratic elements is that they do not develop on the part of many people in the institution a feeling of commitment to the results of decisions, since they are not involved in making them. Another criticism is that since major decisions are made by a relatively small number of top administrators, there is a tremendous waste of talent and manpower. Since the majority of the people in the institution do not participate at all in the making of many major decisions which affect them, morale is also likely to be a problem. Another weakness is that, although decisions can be made with a minimum of conflict, the system is not constituted to deal with genuine conflict within the institution when it arises.

Many of the early community colleges began as heavily bureaucratic institutions, and most have retained at least some vestiges of bureaucratic governance. Since most institutions operate with a mix of governance systems, there is probably not a community college in existence that is not bureaucratic, to some extent, in its internal decision-making structure. Community colleges that are bureaucratic in any aspect of governance would, therefore, do well to examine ways in which bureaucratic elements can be improved and maintained for maximum benefits with minimum disadvantages.

Since a consensus-developing process is not always included in a bureaucratic system, communication that occurs more routinely in a participatory system must be carefully and consciously managed. Since

people at the lower levels of an organization are not given an active part in a particular decision-making process, they are not likely to take responsibility for communication regarding it. Ensuring that adequate lines of communication are maintained is, therefore, much more a responsibility of administration. Further, communication is even more important in transmitting the results of decisions made at one level to other levels when they are not involved in the decision-making process.

Because so many decisions are made in relative isolation, implications of secrecy are an obvious problem. Bureaucratic systems can minimize some of this disadvantage by maintaining as open an environment for decision making as possible. Even though not everyone is involved in making a particular decision, the fact that a decision is being made, the rationale for the decision, and the information being used in the decision-making process should be known as widely as possible.

An analysis of even the most bureaucratic system will usually reveal that, although more important decisions are made at higher levels, many decisions are made at every level. People at each level of operation in a bureaucratic system should understand the types of decisions that may be made at each particular level, and which decisions are made above and below, to minimize the criticism that decisions are made only at the top.

Since many in the college who are affected by a decision may not be involved in making that decision, it is advisable that those making decisions seek as wide a range of sources for information as possible, in order that decisions made reflect true needs of the institution. It is also important that opportunities to provide informational input into the decision-making process be known as widely as possible.

Developing and Maintaining Participatory Elements of Governance. Most community colleges have moved from totally bureaucratic systems of internal governance to systems that allow for participation in decision making on the part of other groups within the institution who are not in top administrative positions. Among colleges not committed to collective bargaining, there is primarily a mixture of bureaucratic and participatory governance systems.

There are many advantages to participatory elements of governance. The most frequently identified is that, since many people in the institution are involved in making decisions, there is a greater feeling of commitment to the decisions that are made. Another is that the college gains when the talents of a great many intelligent, educated people are involved in decision making.

The major disadvantage of participatory systems is that, unlike bureaucratic systems, they are slow and inefficient. Involving many people in the decision-making process makes it more difficult to arrive

at decisions, and the institution is not able to respond or react so quickly as it can with a bureaucratic system. Because of this inefficiency, many within the college become discouraged. It is essential that participatory systems maintain effective communication that keeps everyone informed about decisions that are being made, decision-making processes such as committees that are functioning, and the status of implementation of previous decisions.

Since the decision-making processes do not parallel the charted organization of administration, who is responsible for governance is less likely to be understood. The college should put into printed form as much as possible of the structure and the operational procedures of its participatory systems. Information about committee systems (with current membership, terms of appointment, committee charges, committee reporting procedures, and so on) should be kept up to date and available to all. In an ongoing participatory system, many decisions that were made with much involvement may be assumed by those who were not at the institution when the decision was made to have always existed or to have been made bureaucratically. Making sure that it is known that many past decisions were made in a participatory manner is part of the tending-to needed in such a system. The college should publicize as widely as possible the successes, past and current, of the participatory governance system.

The greatest problem participatory systems find is that not everyone is willing to participate. Participation in governance is hard work, and many who are involved are not always recognized. The college should seek ways to recognize and reward those employees who are involved in participatory governance, as a means of ensuring their continued involvement and encouraging others. Those responsible must avoid the temptation to involve only a few willing participants and must find ways to bring new people into the system. Those who choose not to participate must be kept aware of the system and reminded of the opportunities they have to participate.

The bureaucratic system tends to line up decision-making responsibilities with job descriptions and, therefore, it tends to operate better with less maintenance. Because responsibilities for making decisions do not parallel job descriptions in participatory systems, more maintenance is required to ensure that all involved are carrying out assigned duties and responsibilities. Maintenance is far more important in participatory systems of governance because, while bureaucratic systems tend to be more effectively self-perpetuating, participatory systems tend to run down if not tended regularly.

Developing and Maintaining Collective Bargaining Elements of Governance. Because it is entered into deliberately with specific,

identifiable steps of implementation, collective bargaining is different from almost any other system of internal governance. The operating terms of the system are almost always documented—in locally approved procedures, in law, or in both. The limitations of both management and labor are also in writing. The decision-making procedure is well defined, and the awareness of the system is higher than in other systems of governance.

It might appear, then, that collective bargaining systems of governance would need little attention to development or maintenance. Such, however, is not the case. Collective bargaining does not always work well. The system may work smoothly at one institution, but with disastrous results at another, with the same set of state laws and provisions for bargaining. Collective bargaining as a system is not failure-proof. It can, however, be made to work well as a system of internal governance.

Collective bargaining may fail to work effectively for several reasons. Management may at times not accept responsibility for a system that was voted in over its protest. The assumption that everything is already decided in the collective bargaining process is pervasive and may cause the best-intentioned administrator to assume that there is nothing he or she can or should do to improve the process.

Members of the bargaining unit may be equally at fault. They may not understand the system they have chosen. Antiunion literature is not very objective when it declares that a union will be the downfall of the institution. Prounion literature is equally biased when it leads people to believe that collective bargaining will solve all problems. When people enter collective bargaining expecting things no system can deliver, they may blame the opposition if their problems are not solved. When faculty, for example, enter collective bargaining with a good understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the system, they will probably work harder to see the system work effectively.

Faculty, like management, may assume that in such a legalistic system there is no latitude to make collective bargaining function better. The bargaining group may be just as emotionally involved as management. Collective bargaining is frequently voted in after a bitter campaign. It takes all the efforts and good will both sides can muster to help those involved resolve their differences and work together.

Although the union officially selected represents the whole group, it may have been voted in by a small minority of the group. A large antiunion or, at best, apathetic group may weaken the governance process. Both management and labor must work together to make it known that collective bargaining is a legal process and that, unless and until

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decertified, the union is the official voice of the bargaining unit. Management should recognize that fact, and members of the bargaining unit should do all they can to strengthen the unit.

Collective bargaining is not, therefore, the end of all or other systems of governance. Both management and labor must sort out those areas of governance that are included in the bargaining process and those that are not. Areas of decision making not involved in the bargaining process must be dealt with through other systems, and those systems must be identified, developed, and maintained.

It is of utmost importance that both sides learn as much as possible about collective bargaining as a governance system. The most successful collective bargaining systems seem to exist where management and the bargaining unit are equally skilled and knowledgeable about the process. Management needs to know what it can and cannot do; the bargaining unit needs to know what bargaining can and cannot do. Further, both sides must understand thoroughly what is in the contract eventually negotiated and must work to operate within its bounds. Everyone must realize that bargaining is giving and getting. If either management or labor is unable to accept losses and concentrate on gains, there will be difficulties. There are many community colleges where collective bargaining appears to be working well, and a community college entering collective bargaining would do well to visit or bring consultants from those institutions to learn how and why those institutions are successful.

Finally, those responsible for developing and maintaining governance must recognize that collective bargaining is a system of decision making that, like all other systems, has strengths and weaknesses and needs careful development and conscientious maintenance.

Conclusion

It has been the purpose of this chapter to convince readers that making decisions that determine the present and the future of a community college is one of the most important activities engaged in at the college. It is so important that great care and attention should be given to developing and maintaining the processes through which those decisions are made. The total spectrum of these decision-making processes constitutes the governance of the college. Several points have been emphasized regarding development and maintenance of governance:

- No style of governance is good or bad, effective or ineffective, in and of itself. Any process of decision making can be better or worse, depending on the way the system is developed and maintained.

- Good governance does not persist long if left unattended. Because the process is complex and requires commitment and activity on the part of many people, there must be a continuous evaluation of all systems, as well as steps implemented to correct problems when they appear. Because institutions change, systems of governance must change to remain effective.
- Because colleges are so dependent on the people who work in them, how decisions are made in a college is as important as the decisions themselves.
- Good governance is too important to leave to the chance that it may just happen. It must be planned, implemented, maintained, and evaluated.

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James F. Gollattscheck is vice-president for communications services of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, Washington, D.C. He was formerly president of Valencia Community College in Orlando, Florida.

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This chapter lists material abstracted from recent additions to the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) system to provide further information on community college governance.

Sources and Information: Community College Governance

Jim Palmer

Since the publication of the last New Directions Sourcebook on community college governance (Richardson, 1975), over two hundred journal articles and ERIC documents on this topic have been entered into ERIC's *Resources in Education* and *Current Index to Journals in Education*. Two major themes dominate these writings: the development of participatory governance structures that secure the input of students, faculty, staff, and other campus constituencies; and the growth of state authority at the expense of local autonomy. In addition, community college researchers have examined (although to a lesser extent) the special governance problems of multicollege districts and multicampus districts. This chapter reviews a selection of writings on each of these topics.

Participatory Governance

Community college leaders have long struggled with the problems of establishing participatory governance structures as a democratic alternative to the more prevalent, administrator-dominated hierarchical

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systems (Bensimon, 1984). Many writers focus on issues related to the involvement of faculty and students in governance and present governance models that provide formal mechanisms for this involvement.

Faculty Involvement. Community colleges, as relatively new institutions, do not have the long tradition of faculty involvement that characterizes the collegial governance structures of four-year colleges and universities (Lahti, 1979). In their study of the governance structures of Pennsylvania public four-year and community colleges, Gunne and Mortimer (1975) found that the community colleges were more likely than the four-year institutions to be characterized by administrative dominance in the decision-making process. Richardson (1976) notes this tendency toward hierarchical governance structures and argues that community colleges have suffered from an image problem "due in no small measure to the deliberate attempt of administrators to repress faculty activity as practicing professionals" (p. 59).

While community college observers such as Helling (1975) argue that faculty are happier with governance systems that leave the tasks of institutional decision making and budgeting to administrators, most argue that nonparticipation in college management lowers faculty morale. Stokle (1974) surveyed faculty members at Fresno City College (California) to determine the correlation between militant faculty unionism and faculty dissatisfaction with role in governance. Most of the respondents felt that governance was clearly in the hands of administrators and that faculty involvement in committees did not increase faculty power; at the same time, 92 percent favored the imposition of collective bargaining. Clay (1976) examined the relationship between participatory governance and the job satisfaction of faculty at four North Carolina community colleges. Two of the colleges had a high degree of democratic governance, and two had more hierarchical systems. A survey of faculty revealed significant positive correlations between involvement in governance and satisfaction with job security, sense of belonging in the institution, self-esteem, sense of autonomy, and opportunities for professional self-articulation. This correlation, however, was considerably lower for vocational faculty than for academic instructors.

There are, however, several barriers to faculty participation. Manilla (1979) argues that the emergence of such quantitative management techniques as planning, management, and evaluation systems poses a strong threat to faculty power. In the computer age, traditional faculty deliberations and committee votes may be no substitute for the hard data required in decision making. Another barrier to faculty involvement is the large number of part-time instructors who are rarely

included in governance systems. In their survey of part-time instructors at Florida Junior College, Bennett and Shannon (1976) found that the role of part-time faculty in governance was negligible and that the respondents had no clear idea of the meaning of governance. Finally, there is the problem of administrator-faculty disagreement over the extent to which current governance systems encourage faculty participation. In another study at Florida Junior College, Weaver (1977) found considerable disagreement between administrators and faculty concerning faculty participation in the governance of the college. The vast majority of the top administrators surveyed felt that the college administration encouraged faculty participation in decision making, but fewer than 30 percent of faculty agreed. While faculty participation is desirable in the abstract, the literature provides no consensus on how it should be achieved.

Has collective bargaining enlarged the faculty role in governance? Richardson (1976) maintains that collective bargaining, while no panacea for all administrative ills, is a healthy decision-making process that provides formal channels for the joint resolution of conflict between faculty and administrators. Further positive evidence is supplied by Poole and Wattenbarger (1977), who conclude in an analysis of the governance policies at twenty-three colleges that most negotiated contracts increase the power of faculty. Other authors, however, are more skeptical. Weston and others (1978) argue that collective bargaining actually changes very little in college power structures and in fact may eliminate informal avenues of faculty involvement. Mortimer and Richardson (1977) come to the same conclusion in their case analysis of the implementation of collective bargaining at a large regional community college. While very little changed in the formal governance structure, informal avenues of discussion and compromise between faculty and administrators were closed off. Thus, there is no conclusive evidence that collective bargaining has helped flatten the traditional hierarchical governance structure of community colleges.

Student Participation. Since the end of the war in Vietnam, student concern for and participation in college governance has declined (Kelley, 1978). Thus, the literature analyzing student participation focuses not on the desirability of such participation but on the factors that explain low rates of student involvement.

Student surveys reveal three probable causes of this situation: lack of information about opportunities for participation, the belief that participation will not make a difference in how the college is run, and the attitude (at least among some respondents) that students should play no role in governance. In their survey of students at College of the

Mainland (Texas), Bass and Cowgill (1975) found that students not participating in governance were less likely than participating students to be aware of opportunities for college governance, to feel that participation would make a significant difference, and to feel that institutional decision making was the responsibility of students. Francis (1979), in a survey of students at Herkimer County Community College (New York), found that while most students desired at least some participation in governance, many had little knowledge of the governance process, and only 2 percent were actually involved. Similarly, Lord (1978) found that most students at Everett Community College (Washington) had little knowledge of the campus student association or of its relationship to college governance, and many were unwilling to take on available committee positions. Thus, although opportunities for participation are available, few students take advantage of them. Part of the explanation is that campus governance structures are geared toward full-time students. Chalick and others (1974) found that the governance structures at many community colleges exclude part-time and evening students. Of the thirty-two colleges surveyed by the researchers, only seventeen allowed part-time or evening students to vote for student government offices. Even if campus governance structures allowed for the participation of all, however, few students would have the time to get involved. Kelley (1978) notes that most students are not interested in committee posts or other governance responsibilities that involve a commitment of a semester or more. She suggests that students form ad hoc committees to work on problems as they arise. Under this "ad hocracy" students would drop in and out of the college governance structure in the same way that they drop in and out of the college.

Model Participatory Governance Structures. All community college governance models described in the ERIC literature since 1975 prescribe participatory rather than hierarchical structures. Most models simply provide a network of committees made up of faculty, students, and other campus constituents. Waubonsee Community College (Illinois), for example, holds open meetings of the entire campus community and forms ad hoc committees as needed to solve problems or consider proposals for change (Waubonsee Community College, 1974). Staff at Cuyahoga Community College (Ohio) prepared a governance model that centers around committees on rights and responsibilities, due process, affirmative action, and curricular matters. According to the plan, committees are to be made up of students, faculty, support staff, and administrators (Cuyahoga Community College, 1976). Similarly, staff at Bristol Community College (Massachusetts) urged

the development of a special senate to provide a participatory governance structure for the college's Division of Continuing Education and Community Services. The senate was to be composed of faculty, students, administrators and classified staff (Desmarais and Wiggins, 1975).

Campus committees are also an important governance feature of the models that organize the college around interdisciplinary clusters, rather than around traditional academic departments. Heerman (1974) suggests that clusters be arranged around teaching methods. One cluster would emphasize multimedia instruction, another would stress small-group discussion, and a third would offer televised and other off-campus instruction. Under this plan, the college would be governed by intra- and intercluster committees made up of faculty and students. Collins (1975, 1977) and Carhart and Collins (1977) outline participatory governance models that divide the college into broad subject-area or thematic clusters (such as humanistic studies or behavioral sciences). These models also call for a network of committees that provide representation for faculty, students, and administrators. Regardless of the organizational structure of the college, then, committees are the main tool used to promote participatory governance.

Although these models provide a formal structure for participation, many authors point out that formal mechanisms ensure neither an effective governance structure nor an equal distribution of power among different campus constituencies. Cooke and Cardoze (1977) note that committee work is an ineffective method of increasing faculty influence if the committees are in fact powerless. Roueche and Baker (1983) argue that participatory governance, while desirable, must be guided by administrators whose task is to influence the quality of decisions made at the college and to ensure that they are carried out in a manner that is consistent with the college mission. Dillard (1983) points out that the complex network of committees on most campuses often makes the decision-making process unduly cumbersome. Thus, models of participatory governance can be self-defeating if they offer no real power, do not actually improve communication among campus constituencies, or are too complex. Richardson (1978) warns, "We must avoid confusing structure with process" (p. 10).

State Role in College Governance

The growth of state authority at the expense of local college autonomy is well documented in the literature. Bender (1975) and Kintzer (1980) trace the roots of this phenomenon to federal legislation

that resulted in the development of state agencies and commissions to receive and monitor federal funds. Zoglin (1977) details the role of legislatures, state executive branches, and coordinating agencies in college budgeting, program management, and planning. In addition, Martorana and his colleagues at Pennsylvania State University have documented the year-by-year growth of state legislation affecting community college governance (Martorana and others, 1978; Martorana and Broomall, 1981, 1982; Martorana and Corbett, 1983).

Responses to the Growing State Role. In response to this trend, the literature is replete with discussions of how state authority interferes with local college governance and limits the ability of colleges to respond to local needs. Darnowski (1978) describes the maze of state agencies that impose checks on college fiscal and personnel management in Connecticut and argues that these checks stymie the ability of administrators to manage and plan college programs. Similarly, Campbell (1978) charges that the prerogatives of the Michigan community colleges have been eroded by the governor's office, the legislature, and state agencies. Campbell concludes that the growth of state power is a "fungus" slowly taking over the host (p. 50). Such intrusions, many argue, may destroy the community-based nature of the two-year college. Stalcup and others (1978) warn that colleges in the future will not be able to alter any aspect of the campus community without approval from state authorities.

While Zoglin (1979) and Bender (1975) argue that community college leaders should dig in their heels and try to reverse this trend, others note the benefits of statewide college coordination and maintain that these benefits may repay the loss of some institutional autonomy. Miner (1979) believes that government intervention into college instruction (for example, the elimination of funding for certain community services courses) is a legitimate expression of public opinion concerning the value of community college programs, and that such intervention corrects the course of college planning. Mundt (1978) concurs, arguing that it is counterproductive to "oppose current values in the public sector" (p. 60) and that state control has brought with it a certain degree of fiscal stability. Parcells (1983) asserts that state-mandated checks and balances in the development and approval of new courses safeguard curriculum quality and minimize wasteful duplication of effort among colleges. Thus, many community college leaders accept the legitimacy of a state role in college governance. Angel (1982) writes, "It is high time we accept what we already know—that the autonomy of institutions of higher education neither can be nor should be complete. The public has a fair interest in their conduct" (p. 1).

State Community College Systems. As the state becomes more important in community college governance, additional research will be focused on the varying structures of state community college systems. In its study of alternative methods of statewide college coordination, the Alaska State Commission on Postsecondary Education (1981) identified five major patterns: governance under a coordinating board that has exclusive responsibility for community colleges; governance under a coordinating board that has responsibility for all education in the state, from kindergarten through postsecondary; governance under a coordinating board that has responsibility for postsecondary education only; governance under the responsibility of two or more state boards; and governance of community colleges as a subdivision of the state university system. This Alaska State Commission report is the most recent ERIC document that describes and compares the different statewide governance structures of each of the states that have public two-year colleges. Other documents that describe governance systems in individual states are listed (by state) below:

California	(Simpson, 1984)
Colorado	(Colorado State Board for Community Colleges and Occupational Education, 1977)
Florida	(Mauts, 1982)
Illinois	(Koehnline, 1978)
Iowa	(Iowa State Department of Public Instruction, 1982)
Kentucky	(Morford and Bell, 1977)
Maryland	(Maryland State Board for Community Colleges, 1983)
Minnesota	(Minnesota Higher Education Coordinating Board, 1981)
Nebraska	(Paradise, 1978)
Nevada	(Nevada State Legislature, 1978)
North Dakota	(McKinney and others, 1978)
Virginia	(Virginia State Department of Community College, 1983)
Washington	(Washington State Board for Community College Education, 1980)

Multicampus Colleges and Multicollege Districts

Research on community college governance focuses mainly on the administration of single campuses or statewide college coordinating systems. Relatively little attention has been paid to the special problems of multicampus colleges and multicollege districts. The documents

that do focus on this topic examine the distribution of governance responsibilities between campus and district offices. Wattenbarger (1977), for example, suggests a locus of decision-making responsibility—campus, central office, or joint—for each of forty-six administrative problem areas and calls for additional research leading to the development of a management theory for multiunit institutions.

Recent evidence indicates that local campuses or colleges retain responsibility for academic decision making, while central offices retain administrative control. Henry and Creswell (1983) surveyed twenty-six multiunit systems to determine the levels at which decisions are made in each of nine administrative areas. The survey findings reveal that faculty- and student-related matters were generally decided at the campus level, while major planning and financial matters were handled at the central office. Kintzer (1984) surveyed 142 multiunit institutions to identify the locus of responsibility for each of 84 practices related to college management, curriculum, instruction, administrative personnel, teaching and nonteaching personnel, research, student services, and other areas. While he found that campuses retained responsibility for curriculum, instruction, and services, he also found that campuses were responsible for two of three categories of personnel management. Thus, there is some evidence that campuses may be gaining at least some of the administrative power that is usually reserved for the central office.

This chapter has discussed a sampling of documents and journal articles in the ERIC database that examine community college governance. In the reference section that follows, items marked with ED numbers are ERIC documents and can be ordered through the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS) at Alexandria, Virginia, or obtained on microfiche at over 650 libraries across the country. Items not marked with ED numbers must be obtained through regular library channels. For an EDRS order form and a list of the libraries in each state that have ERIC microfiche collections, contact the ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges, 8118 Math-Sciences Building, UCLA, Los Angeles, California 90024.

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Jim Palmer is assistant director for user services at the ERIC Clearinghouse for Junior Colleges, University of California, Los Angeles.

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From the Editors' Notes

The last New Directions *volume on governance was published in 1975. The issues a decade after the publication of that volume have changed. Clearly the most influential force has been the increased power and role of state agencies in governance, a development that has forced a dramatic change in the way we think about governance. The old focus on largely internal issues has been replaced by the need to consider issues in a broader context. The past decade has also brought new pressures on trustees, development of multiunit districts, and a maturing of collective bargaining processes. We hope that this issue of* New Directions for Community Colleges *will provide both a needed update on developments in governance over the past decade and proposals for change to facilitate the governance process in the decade ahead.*

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